

THE NORTHERN WORLD BRILL

The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147-1254



Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt



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THE NORTHERN WORLD

North Europe and the Baltic c. 400-1700 AD
Peoples, Economies and Cultures

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VOLUME 26

THE POPES AND
THE BALTIC CRUSADES
1147-1254

BY

IBEN FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT



BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON
2007

Cover illustration: Reg. Vat. 5, f. 72r. This is a detail of the first page of Innocent's register for his sixth year. The image in the margin forms the initial "I" of the word "Inter," the first word of Reg. Inn. 6:1 (24 February 1203), addressed to the monks at Subiaco. Innocent is portrayed as the central figure, with a Cardinal John and two clerks in subordinate positions. The banner in the pope's hands reads, "Children, may our blessing so profit you in bearing fruit in this life that it may be a source of help to you [in the next]." The illuminated initial was added probably a year or two after the text of the letter was entered, in the space left by the scribe. (See Reg. 6:1, p. 3, n. 1.) Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Prefect, Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fonnesberg-Schmidt, Iben.

The popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147-1254 / by Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt.

p. cm. — (The northern world, ISSN 1569-1462 ; v. 26)

Based on the author's thesis (Ph. D.)—University of Cambridge.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 90-04-15502-3 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Baltic States—Church history. 2. Papacy—History. 3. Catholic Church—Foreign relations—Baltic States. 4. Baltic States—Foreign relations—Catholic Church. I. Title.

BX1263.F66 2006

274.79'04—dc22

2006049271

ISSN 1569-1462

ISBN-13: 978 90 04 15502 2

ISBN-10: 90 04 15502 3

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*To my parents,
Merete Fonnesberg and Jens Brink Schmidt*

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ix
Abbreviations	xi
Note on Names	xiii
Maps	xv
Introduction	1
Sources and literature	13
Chapter One Papal policy on the Baltic crusades to 1198	23
The pontificate of Eugenius III (1145–53)	27
Mission and crusade in the Baltic region during the pontificate of Alexander III (1159–81)	52
The later twelfth century	65
Conclusions	75
Chapter Two Innocent III (1198–1216) and the crusades in the Baltic region	79
Innocent III and the Baltic crusades	91
Innocent III and mission among non-Christians	113
Innocent III and the care for the newly converted	117
Conclusions	128
Chapter Three Honorius III (1216–27) and the crusades in the Baltic region	133
Honorius III and the Baltic crusades	136
Honorius III and the Dominicans	153
Honorius III and mission among non-Christians	162
Honorius III and the new Church in the Baltic region	179
Conclusions	183
Chapter Four Papal policy on the Baltic crusades during the pontificates of Gregory IX (1227–41) and Innocent IV (1243–54)	187

Crusades in Prussia during the pontificate of Gregory IX	192
Gregory IX and the crusades in Livonia, Estonia and Finland	206
Gregory IX, the mendicant orders and the conversion of non-Christians	210
The curia and the campaigns against the Russians	215
Innocent IV and the Prussian crusades	224
Innocent IV and the royal Danish crusades in the Baltic	235
Innocent IV and mission among non-Christians	239
The Baltic crusades after Innocent IV	240
Conclusions	246
 Chapter Five The popes and the Baltic crusades: conclusions and reflections	 249
 Bibliography	 257
Index	277

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Danish Research Council for the Humanities (Statens Humanistiske Forskningsråd, now Forskningsrådet for Kultur og Kommunikation) and Carlsbergfondet for vital economic support during my PhD studies and postdoctoral research. I would also like to thank Clare College and Clare Hall, University of Cambridge, where this study in its original form was accepted for the degree of PhD.

In particular, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith, for his kindness, encouragement and advice during my time in Cambridge. Generously sharing both his time and invaluable knowledge, he was a remarkable supervisor—far better than I could ever have hoped for. As part of this environment it is important to acknowledge the crucial role played by the other PhD students working with Riley-Smith. They provided me with friendship, good times and inspiration. A special mention must be given to Caroline Smith who kindly proofread the final draft of my thesis.

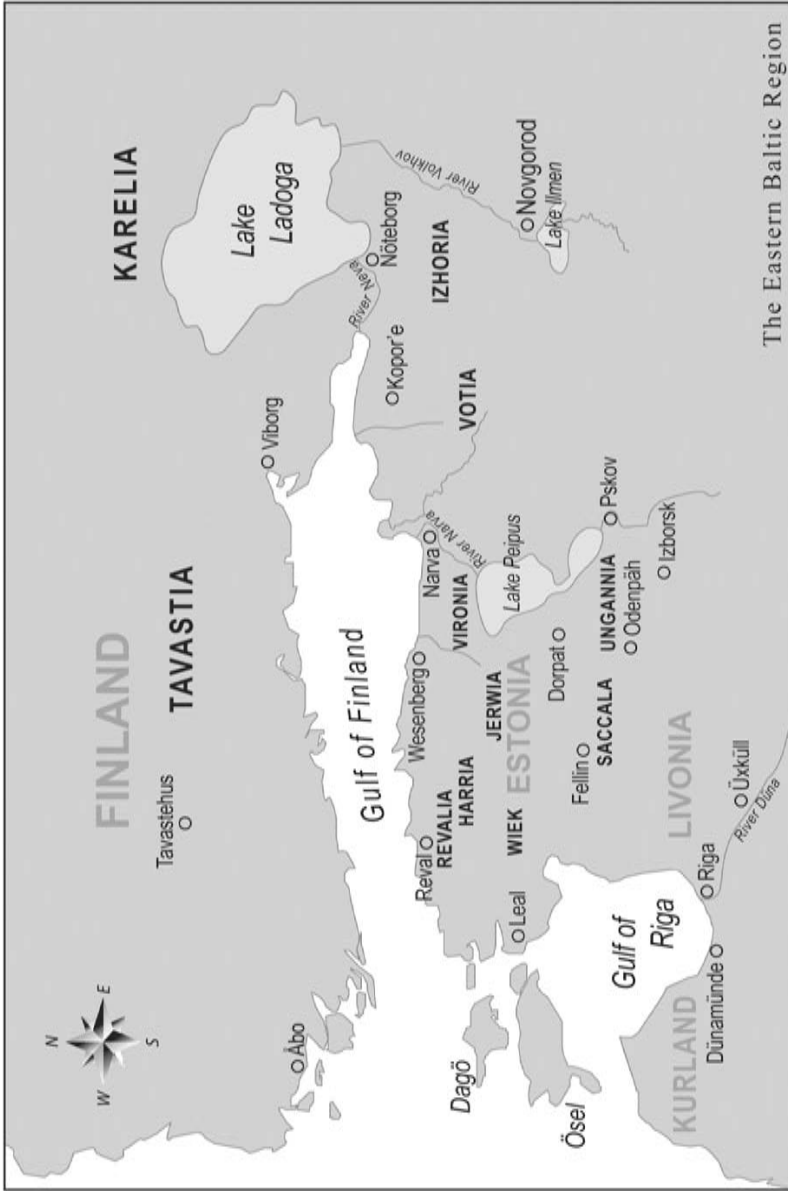
I have been very grateful for the stimulating discussions I have had with Kurt Villads Jensen, Carsten Selch Jensen, John H. Lind, Ane L. Bysted and Barbara Bombi on the ideas presented in this study. I would especially like to thank John for his highly useful comments on the manuscript. I would also like to thank my friend and colleague at the Department of History at Aalborg University, Torben K. Nielsen, for many valuable discussions over the years. Finally, I would like to thank my parents and my sister, Vibeke, for their unfailing support—in so many things.

ABBREVIATIONS

- DD* *Diplomatarium Danicum*, edited by A. Afzelius et al. In progress. Copenhagen, 1938ff.
- FMU* *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*, edited by R. Hausen. 8 vols. Helsinki, 1910–35.
- LEC* *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, edited by F. G. von Bunge. 12 vols. Tallinn, 1853–1910.
- PL* *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, edited by J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–65.
- PUB* *Preußisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abtheilung*, edited by R. Philippi et al. 6 vols. Königsberg, 1882–2000.

NOTE ON NAMES

Due to the political history of the Baltic region there is a plethora of names for many of its locations. Following what appears to be common practice in the field, I have chosen to use English forms of the various place names and, if no English form exists, to employ the form used in the language of the power which held the location in medieval times. Corresponding modern forms are added in parentheses in the index. Similarly, for the names of people I have used the forms most commonly used in English publications on the subject which therefore often is the Anglicised form.



Map II: The Eastern Baltic Region

INTRODUCTION

The expansion of Latin Christendom into north-east Europe entered a new phase when in 1147 Pope Eugenius III proclaimed a crusade against the pagan Slavs living in the lands along the western part of the Baltic Sea. In the following decades the peoples living further east, in Livonia, Estonia, Finland and Prussia, were targeted in a series of new missions and campaigns undertaken by the archbishops, bishops and princes of the neighbouring lands which were themselves often only recently converted to Christianity. Although the conquest and conversion of the Baltic lands often met with considerable local resistance, these ventures eventually succeeded in incorporating the eastern Baltic region into the Latin Christian Church and western European society.

This study shows how papal crusading policy in the Baltic region was formed and how it developed in its first century, from Eugenius III's proclamation of the crusade against the pagan Slavs in 1147 to the end of Pope Innocent IV's pontificate in 1254. Highlighting the interplay between canon law and theology, politics and the Church's pastoral concerns, it analyses the papal stand and the causes and impetus behind the changes that occurred. It examines the papacy's perception of the campaigns, the intentions stated, the rewards granted as well as the extent of papal involvement in the organization and implementation of the campaigns. It also discusses the character and importance the popes ascribed to the Baltic expeditions and whether the various popes considered them to be on a par with the crusades undertaken in aid of the Holy Land.

The formation of papal policy on the Baltic crusades was strongly influenced by the curia's interaction with the princes and bishops of north-eastern Europe who were involved in the expansion of Latin Christendom. The extension of the crusade concept from the Holy Land to the Baltic region was a result of pressure from these local ecclesiastical and secular leaders. At first the pressure came from members of the Church hierarchy, but from the early thirteenth century the Christian princes often approached the curia to obtain authorization of their campaigns in the region.

The period from the middle of the twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth saw not only a geographical expansion of Christendom, but also developments in papal authority supported by a gradually evolving theory of papal monarchy. From the late eleventh century onwards the papacy began to assert its right to exercise jurisdiction throughout Christendom and to assert itself as an independent power by excluding secular influence and enforcing ecclesiastical authority. It claimed jurisdiction in both spiritual and temporal affairs, but while it claimed full jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical world, it did not do so over the secular world. Arguing that the Roman Church had responsibility for the souls of all men, the papacy maintained that it had a right to intervene in the temporal order in circumstances, which, although defined, could be interpreted widely.¹ The papal monarchy reached its height in the first half of the thirteenth century, when the popes exercised an unprecedented degree of control over European society, politics and institutions.² Gradually secular rulers came to recognize papal intervention in an increasing number of affairs and acknowledged it by actively seeking papal involvement and support although matters such as ecclesiastical appointments, jurisdiction and eventually papal taxation could lead to conflict.³ The communication between the papacy and the secular rulers from the north-eastern periphery of Latin Christendom which influenced the formation of papal policy on the Baltic campaigns was part of this development of firmer ties between Rome and the Christian princes.

The greater role played by the papacy in European society meant that the popes were required to formulate policies on new issues and led to an increased amount of business being presented to the curia. The college of cardinals, led by the cardinal bishop of Ostia, became

¹ I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198. Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. ix–x; C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 1–2 and pp. 568–9; J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* 3rd edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 33; J. A. Watt, “The Papacy”, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume V: c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 107.

² Watt, “The Papacy”, p. 127.

³ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 198–9, p. 230, p. 233 and pp. 556–9. The German emperors, however, repeatedly clashed with the papacy on a variety of issues, including the papal role in imperial elections, control of the German Church, Sicily and territorial claims in central Italy.

a key institution in papal government. It performed a role in many ways equivalent to contemporary royal councils.⁴ The cardinals served as the pope's advisers, administrators of papal government, rectors of the Papal Patrimony and as legates, and their college was the electoral college at papal elections. Most popes were elected from the body of cardinals, including those who are of particular interest for the study of the Baltic crusades. Alexander III (1159–81) had been made cardinal in 1150 by Eugenius III (1145–53); Alexander himself, exiled in France for part of his pontificate due to the papal schism of 1159–77, used the papal prerogative to appoint relatively few cardinals during his pontificate.⁵ Among his appointments was Clement III (1187–91), appointed cardinal in 1179, who in contrast to his patron carried out a large number of promotions to the cardinalate in his short reign.⁶ Clement was succeeded by the eighty-five-year-old Celestine III (1191–98) who had been made cardinal as early as 1144. Innocent III (1198–1216) had been appointed cardinal by Clement III, sometime between May 1189 and September 1190.⁷ Innocent's successor, Honorius III (1216–27), had been close to both Clement III and Celestine III and was made cardinal by Celestine in 1193, having served as papal chamberlain since 1188.⁸ Gregory IX (1227–41) had been made cardinal deacon by Innocent III in 1198 and was in 1206 promoted to cardinal bishop of Ostia,⁹ testifying to Innocent's trust in him. Among Gregory's first appointments to the cardinalate was Sinibaldo Fieschi in 1227, who may

⁴ W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen and Co, 1972), p. 232; Watt, "The Papacy", p. 109.

⁵ Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198*, p. 54; Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, p. 232.

⁶ V. Pfaff, "Papst Clemens III. (1187–1191)", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* LXVI (1980), pp. 261–2.

⁷ W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216. Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), p. 61; H. Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III [Europe in the Middle Ages. Selected Studies 12]*, trans. W. Sax (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980), p. 5; B. Bolton, "Signposts from the Past: Reflections on Innocent III's Providential Path", in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998 [Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Nuovi Studi Storici 55/ Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria XLIV]*, ed. A. Sommerlechner (Rome: la Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2003), vol. 1, p. 36.

⁸ J. E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought third series, 21] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 1–2.

⁹ Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg*, p. 63 and p. 65.

have served Gregory before Gregory's election as pope. Sinibaldo eventually succeeded Gregory as Innocent IV (1243–54).¹⁰ These popes of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century had thus all served the papal government before their election and had thereby gained an intimate knowledge of the curia and papal policy. This could be expected to lead to a high degree of consistency in papal policy, but this was not always the case with regard to the Baltic crusades, as this study shows.

The extension of papal authority and its acceptance by secular rulers is one of the reasons why the papacy could undertake that most secular activity, war, in the form of the crusades. It could not force, only exhort, secular rulers to serve in its crusades, but its right to initiate and orchestrate these wars in the service of the Church was not disputed, and papal measures designed to facilitate this warfare were generally accepted even when they impinged on matters usually within the realm of royal authority.

The crusades were one form of penitential warfare, albeit the most fully developed. The idea that men could go to war as a penance, for the remission of their sins, emerged in the late eleventh century. It is important here to maintain a distinction between penitential warfare, which in this study is used as a general term denoting warfare in the service of the Church for which participants were promised remission of sins, and its more elaborated form, the crusade, which emerged in the very late eleventh century with Pope Urban II's call for an expedition to liberate Jerusalem in 1095. Because its goal was Jerusalem, this expedition was also regarded as a pilgrimage, and privileges normally granted to pilgrims such as papal protection were granted to crusaders. Encouraged by the response to Urban's call and by the crusade's success in conquering Jerusalem in July 1099, new crusades were proclaimed in the following century. The core characteristics which linked them to penitential warfare and pilgrimage remained—the granting of spiritual rewards, papal protection to participants and the vow taken by participants—although they were of course subject to evolution. While the First Crusade remained the model for the subsequent crusades for both papacy and the faithful, the concept of the crusade continued to develop, for instance through the addition of more privileges to participants,

¹⁰ Sayers, *Papal Government and England*, p. 24.

the setting up of measures to finance and promote the expeditions, permission to redeem and commute the vows taken by participants, and the extension of the crusade to targets other than the Holy Land, to Spain and the Baltic as well as against heretics and the papacy's political opponents.¹¹

In this study of the papal policy on the Baltic crusades I draw on the pluralist definition of crusades, and the parameters chosen for the analysis are inspired by the characteristics contained in this definition. The pluralist definition, as formulated by Jonathan Riley-Smith, states that a crusade was a penitential war which ranked as, and had many of the attributes of, a pilgrimage. It manifested itself in many theatres. The cause—the recovery of property or defence against injury—was just in the traditional sense, but it was related to the needs of all Christendom or the Church, rather than those of a particular nation or region. A crusade was legitimized by the pope, rather than by a temporal ruler. At least some of the participants took a vow, which subordinated them to the Church and ensured some papal control over them in matters other than the actual waging of war. Pilgrimage terminology was often used of them; and some of the privileges they enjoyed, particularly the protection of themselves, their *familiae* and properties, were associated with those of pilgrims. They believed themselves to be penitents and as such they were granted a full remission of sins, which after 1198 was reformulated as a plenary indulgence.¹²

The ongoing debate about the definition and nature of crusading has led to several definitions being put forward. Besides the pluralist one, the other current definitions have recently been categorized by Giles Constable as the traditionalist, the popularist and the generalist definitions.¹³ Taking a different stand, Christopher Tyerman argued that there were no crusades in the twelfth century, and that crusades only really came into being with the crusade programme

¹¹ See for instance J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), *passim*; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades*, *passim*; and S. Lloyd, "The Crusading Movement, 1096–1274", in *The Oxford Illustrated History of The Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), *passim*.

¹² Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades*, pp. 87–8.

¹³ See G. Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades", in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001); N. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 1–23.

of Pope Innocent III. Those twelfth century campaigns which generally have been regarded as crusades were in Tyerman's analysis merely the continuation of already existing ideas and practices.¹⁴ However, his argument won little support. Of the four definitions currently in play, it is probably the pluralist definition which has found the most adherents. It is nevertheless under constant discussion and reassessment, a debate which recently has been analysed by Norman Housley in his book *Contesting the Crusades* (2006).¹⁵ Many historians have emphasised the changing quality and different stages of crusading, and several emphasise the innovations seen in Innocent III's pontificate.¹⁶ This study of how the Baltic wars became crusades offers a contribution to the ongoing discussion about the validity of definitions of crusades in general and about the weaknesses of the pluralist definition in particular, adding to the suggestions that this definition really only applies with respect to the thirteenth century, in the case of the Baltic crusades from the pontificate of Honorius III.

In order to determine the papacy's policy on, and perception of, the Baltic crusades, this study has particular focus on the indulgence granted to their participants. The indulgence only reached its fully developed form in the early thirteenth century after the twelfth century had seen various expressions of it. Eugenius III's indulgences had marked a break with the older view that a crusade was a satisfactory penitential action. His thoughts, and those of Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), probably followed the idea already emerging at the end of the eleventh century that humans could not perform any

¹⁴ See C. Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?," *English Historical Review* 110 (1995) as well as his *The Invention of the Crusades* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), pp. 8–29. For his more recent stand, see his *The Crusades, A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and *Fighting for Christendom. Holy War and the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁵ See Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, pp. 1–23 where Housley also points to towards a new definition.

¹⁶ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, pp. 14–15; see also his "Crusades Against Christians: Their Origin and Early Development, c. 1000–1150", in *Crusade and Settlement. Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985). In his book *The Crusades. A Short History*, Riley-Smith thus has chapters entitled 'The Birth of the Crusading Movement', 'Crusading in Adolescence', 'Crusading reaches Maturity' and 'The Old Age and Death of the Crusading Movement'.

action that was satisfactory to God for sin. As Christ's representative, however, the pope could declare that a particular action would be regarded by God as being satisfactory, even if it were not.¹⁷ Eugenius's views were generally not followed by his successors, who reverted to the position that the indulgence was a statement that participation in crusades constituted a satisfactory penance. It was Pope Innocent III who gave the indulgence its final form in his first call for a crusade in aid of the Holy Land, *Post miserabile* of August 1198. In his formulation, the indulgence was not a declaration that a penitential act would be satisfactory: it was a promise on God's behalf of the remission of the penalties that were the consequence of sin, whether imposed by the Church itself or by God in this world or the next, in purgatory.¹⁸

Indulgences were, of course, not only granted for participation in crusades. Other devotional acts, including visits to specific churches and shrines on certain feast days, merited an indulgence. These were, however, often partial, whereas participation in the crusades in aid of the Holy Land merited a full remission of sins, a plenary indulgence. The papal letters proclaiming the crusades to the Holy Land specified the plenary indulgence granted to crusaders and explicitly listed the services which warranted an indulgence. Innocent III and his successors made use of a series of standard formulations in this respect. The indulgence formula created by Innocent in *Post miserabile* was used, with only minor changes, in his subsequent letters on crusades to the Holy Land and was given its final form in *Ad liberandam*, the decree on the Fifth Crusade from the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.¹⁹

¹⁷ Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades*, p. 63; G. R. Evans, *The Mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 156–61. Some see continuity in the period from Urban II's pontificate to that of Innocent III, see for instance J. A. Brundage, "Holy War and the Medieval Lawyers", in *The Holy War*, ed. T. P. Murphy (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1976). Reprinted with original pagination in his *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), pp. 119–20.

¹⁸ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 121; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades*, pp. 59–60. For a different view, see H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edition, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 33; H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* [*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 21] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 72–3; N. Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1922–3), vol. I, pp. 207ff.

¹⁹ For a list of Innocent III's crusade letters in aid of the Holy Land, see Chapter

In this analysis the formulations of the indulgences granted to crusaders going to the Holy Land are compared to the formulations of the indulgences granted to crusaders in the Baltic, and the differences or similarities in their characteristics, in particular whether the indulgence was plenary or partial and what kind of services merited one, are used to clarify the papal stance on the Baltic expeditions. As we shall see, in their letters on the Baltic campaigns the popes did not merely copy the indulgence formulae of their predecessors. The papal decision about whether a specific act merited an indulgence and, if so, which indulgence would be granted for the deed, was of course a deliberate one. The indulgence granted reflected the importance ascribed to the deed by the pope, and hence the significance of an act was indicated by the indulgence granted to it. The indulgence is therefore a central parameter in the analysis of the papal policy on the Baltic crusades and can be used to determine the importance given to these crusades by the papacy.

The privilege of the indulgence was not the only reward granted to crusaders. From the First Crusade onwards crusaders enjoyed the same privileges as pilgrims, most importantly papal protection not only of themselves, but also of their *familiae* and goods. Eventually more temporal privileges were added, designed to facilitate the crusaders' financing of their journey and to secure their interests while they were away. They included the right to a moratorium on their debts and exemption from interest payments while they were on crusade, delays of judicial proceedings in which they were involved until their return, and quick settlement of court cases.²⁰ Such temporal privileges were carefully listed in the papal proclamations. These privileges are also taken into account in the analysis of the papal policy on the Baltic crusades, with emphasis on the important privilege of papal protection during the crusade.

Some of the aspects included in the pluralist definition of crusades cannot be addressed because of the character and scarcity of the source material on the Baltic crusades. The evidence does not allow us to determine whether the participants in all the various Baltic campaigns in the period from the middle of the twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth took a vow or what form such a vow

Two, p. 96, note 67, and for a translation of the indulgence formula in *Ad liberandam*, see Chapter Two, pp. 96–7.

²⁰ Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades*, pp. 66–8.

may have had,²¹ although some certainly did so; nor do the sources allow us to describe in any detail the preaching for, and organization of, the Baltic crusades in that period. But the material does permit an analysis of the terminology employed in the papal letters on the Baltic crusades which is therefore also taken into account. It is also possible to evaluate the extent of the papacy's involvement in the organization of these campaigns and its attempts to control them. Its stand on these issues with regard to the Baltic crusades is compared to that on crusades fought elsewhere.

Another element included here is the justification given by the papacy for the Baltic crusades. The waging of wars constituted a theological problem for the Church. The Fifth Commandment and the injunctions of Christ to seek peace obliged the Church to be committed to peace. The medieval theology of war rested on the teachings of St Augustine of Hippo (d. 430). Basing his doctrine on the classical distinction between just and unjust war, he put forward a set of criteria to distinguish a just war from an unjust one. These criteria were reduced to three by later commentators: *auctoritas principis*, *causa iusta*, and *intentio recta*. The principle of *auctoritas principis* stated that a just war must be proclaimed by a legitimate authority, ecclesiastical or secular, the decisive factor being that proclamation of war must be within the jurisdiction of this ruler. The principle of *causa iusta* required that the war was fought with a justifiable purpose, which according to Augustine involved an injury perpetrated by another. So a just cause included defence of one's country, *patria*, and of its laws and traditional ways of life, as well as recovery of land or property unlawfully appropriated by others. Finally, the principle of *intentio recta* demanded that a just war did not contain any ulterior motives and that warfare was the only way to achieve the justifiable purpose put forward.²²

How did this apply to warfare against the pagans in the Baltic? The concept of just war meant that a defensive war against non-Christians who were the aggressors would fall within the framework

²¹ For the scarcity of material on this matter elsewhere, see for instance J. A. Brundage, "A Note on the Attestation of Crusader's Vows", *The Catholic Historical Review* 52 (1966). Reprinted with original pagination in his *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991).

²² See J. A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 19–20; see also F. R. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* [*Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* third series, 8] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

of a just war. A pope could authorize the use of force against those who attacked Christians in order to protect the Christian community. War could not, however, be waged in order to bring about the conversion of non-Christians.²³ Canonists declared that they should not be forced to accept baptism, a view put forward by among others Pope Gregory I (590–604) and the canonist Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115 or 1116) and maintained in the thirteenth century and throughout Christian history.²⁴

Missions were the instruments of conversion, but the conversion of new peoples brought with it a risk of apostasy, as soon became clear in the Baltic region. Canon law was surprisingly reticent about warfare against apostates, that is, Christians who after having received baptism abandoned the faith, but it classed them with the worst kind of heretics, as did Thomas Aquinas.²⁵ Whereas a heretic only denied one or more of the Christian doctrines, the apostate completely renounced the faith and thus denied the religion itself. Apostates, like heretics, were rebels and caused injury to the Church. The use of force against them was therefore to be justified in the same way as with heretics, against whom the use of force had long been regarded as legitimate, although it was held to be the responsibility of secular powers. Drawing on ideas expressed already by Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) and the canonist Gratian (c. 1140), the Third Lateran Council of 1179 issued a decree exhorting all Christians to defend Christianity by fighting heresy, promising them remission of their sins in return.²⁶ This laid the foundations for the proclamations of crusades against heretics which followed in the thirteenth century.

To complement the understanding of the papal policy on the Baltic crusades, this study also examines the papal stand on the conver-

²³ Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 21.

²⁴ Letter from Gregory I of 16 March 591: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, 2nd edition, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1885–8), vol. 1, no. 1104 (738); Ivo, Decretum I, no. 182: *PL*, vol. 161, col. 106; Ivo, Decretum I, no. 285: *PL*, vol. 161, col. 125; J. Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels. The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250–1550* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), p. 11.

²⁵ H. Kramer, "Apostasie", in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. N. Angermann et al. (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1977–99), vol. 1, col. 780; J. Bouché, "Apostasie", in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, ed. R. Naz (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935–64), vol. 1, cols 640–52; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, ed. T. Gilby et al., 61 vols (London, 1964–81), II:II.12, vol. 32, pp. 96–102.

²⁶ Canones 27: *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo et al. (Basel, 1962), pp. 200–1; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades*, pp. 18–20; Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198*, p. 140–1.

sion of the pagans of the Baltic region. It explores the character of the papal involvement in the conversion of non-Christians and the extent to which the popes assumed responsibility for this. To clarify this, some comparisons are made to the papal policy on the conversion of Muslims. The analysis thus focuses on the conversion of non-Christians living outside western Christendom, and the papal attitude towards Jews and Orthodox Christians is not taken into account. While this part of the analysis centres on the popes' policy on conversion of non-Christians, or external mission, some references are also made to their policy on internal mission, that is, evangelizing within communities already officially or nominally Christian.²⁷

In his important study of the European approaches to Muslims in the Middle Ages Benjamin Kedar showed that mission and crusades were contemporary and complementary, rather than competitive, approaches to the Muslims in the thirteenth century.²⁸ In the Baltic region mission among the pagans had predated crusades, and it was often the activities of these missionary projects which led to the proclamation of the Baltic crusades as the popes responded to the missionaries' pleas for assistance and called for crusaders to go to that region. This has led some German scholars to coin the term 'Missionskreuzzüge', a somewhat confusing composite term which obscures the fact that the crusades in the Baltic region had the same key characteristics as those to the Holy Land and in the Iberian Peninsula, and that the Baltic crusades came to be regarded as being on a par with the crusades *outremer*. It is thus well known that mission and crusades were contemporary also in the Baltic region, but this study suggests that the change in papal policy on the Baltic crusades seen during Honorius III's pontificate should partly be ascribed to an increased papal engagement in external mission.

An understanding of the papal policy on the Baltic crusades gives us an insight into how the papacy used penitential warfare and the crusade, some of the most powerful instruments employed by the

²⁷ See also I. Wood, *The missionary life. Saints and the evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), p. 3.

²⁸ B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); see also E. Siberry, "Missionaries and crusaders, 1095–1274: opponents or allies?" in *The Church and War [Studies in Church History 20]*, ed. W. J. Shiels (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

papal monarchy, to further the causes it wished to support. Because the Baltic crusades were linked to missionary activity, it also informs us of the varying importance ascribed to mission and the expansion of Christendom by the popes of central Middle Ages. Furthermore, a clarification of the interaction between the curia and the secular rulers of north-eastern Europe on the matter of the Baltic campaigns offers us a case-study of the growing recognition of papal authority in these lands in the north-eastern corner of Christendom.

To emphasise the continuous developments in the papal policy on the Baltic crusades, in the papal stand on external mission and in the relations between the curia and the northern European princes and bishops, this study is divided chronologically into four parts. Each part begins with an outline of the events surrounding the conversion, conquest and colonization of the Baltic lands. These events are only summarized briefly and can be followed in more details in works such as those by William Urban, Friedrich Benninghoven and Eric Christiansen.

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

A series of narrative sources contains information about the expeditions against pagans and the missionary work in the Baltic in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Danish chronicler Saxo, who wrote the *Gesta Danorum*¹ around 1200, described the Danish activities, while the older version of the Chronicle of Novgorod informs us of those Swedish campaigns against Finland which brought the Swedes into contact with the lands tributary to Novgorod. The latter was composed consecutively from the late eleventh century onwards, but the earliest surviving manuscript dates from the thirteenth century.²

Four chronicles by authors with ties to the archbishopric of Bremen in northern Germany yield useful information about the christianization and colonization in the wider Baltic region in the central Middle Ages. The first of these is the *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae*, written in the early 1070s by Adam of Bremen.³ A century later Helmold of Bosau composed his *Chronica Slavorum*, and his work was continued by Arnold of Lübeck (writing before 1210).⁴ But while

¹ Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. P. Zeeberg and K. Friis-Jensen, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 2005). See also E. Christiansen, "Preface", in *Saxo Grammaticus. Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia* [BAR International Series 84, 118 (i), and 118 (ii)], ed. E. Christiansen, 3 vols (Oxford: B.A.R., 1980–1), vol. 84.

² *The Chronicle of Novgorod, Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow, 1950). Partly translated in *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471*, ed. and transl. R. Michell and N. Forbes, [Camden Third Series XXV] (London, 1914). See also J. Lind, "Bishop Thomas in Recent Historiography—Views and Sources", in *Suomen Varhaishistoria. Tornion kongressi 14.–16.6. 1991* [Studia Historica Septentrionalia 21] (Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys, 1992), p. 309 with note 37; J. Lind, "De russiske kroniker som kilde til kontakter i Østersøområdet", in *Norden og Baltikum. Rapport fra Det 22. nordiske historikermøte* ed. K. Tønnesson (Oslo, HiFo, 1994), pp. 36–7.

³ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, [Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatum editi] (Hannover, 1917).

⁴ Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. H. Stob, [Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XIX] (Berlin, 1963); Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, [Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit] (Hannover, 1868). For a recent study of these, see L. Kaljundi, "Waiting for the Barbarians: The Imagery, Dynamics and Functions of the Other in Northern German Missionary Chronicles, 11th–Early 13th Centuries. The *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* of Adam of Bremen, *Chronica Slavorum* of Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum* of Arnold of Lübeck, and *Chronicon Livoniae* of Henry of Livonia" (unpublished MA thesis. Tartu: University of Tartu, 2005).

these sources all allow an insight into the mission and campaigns undertaken by Christian princes and bishops against the pagans, they rarely contain information about papal involvement or the interaction between these local powers and the curia.

The fourth narrative composed by a writer with ties to the see at Bremen is the chronicle of Henry of Livonia. It described the Livonian mission from its beginning in the 1180s to 1227 and is by far the most important source to the missionary work in the eastern part of the Baltic region.⁵ Henry was born in northern Germany, probably in Saxony, and he may have been educated at the monastery school at Segeberg which, as we shall see later, had links to the missionary work among the pagan Slavs. He arrived in Livonia in 1205 with Abbot Rotmar of Segeberg, the brother of Bishop Albert of Livonia. Having been ordained by Albert in 1208, Henry worked in Livonia as a missionary and participated in several campaigns against the pagans in the region before he began the work on his chronicle, which is believed to have been composed between 1225 and 1227. He therefore appears to have been an eyewitness to many of the events he described. It is assumed that he began the composition of the work in preparation for the visit of a papal legate, William of Modena, to inform him of the history of the Livonian mission.⁶ Henry emphasised the achievements of his patron, Bishop Albert, and was highly critical of the involvement of other powers in the region, often depicting the initiatives of the Danes and others in a less than favourable light. We do not know whether Henry had access to the papal letters received by the new Church in Livonia. He did not quote directly from these, in part or in full. But he often described the embassies sent from Livonia and Estonia to the curia and he gave the gist of some of the papal letters resulting from these visits. His work is therefore of great importance for the understanding of the involvement of the curia in the new missionary fields and for

⁵ Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, [*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XXIV*] (Darmstadt, 1959).

⁶ J. A. Brundage, "Introduction", in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, transl. J. A. Brundage, 2nd edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 12–13; A. Bauer, "Einleitung", in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* [*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XXIV*], ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959), p. xx; see also P. Johansen, "Die Chronik as Biographie. Heinrich von Lettlands Lebensgang und Weltanschauung", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* Neue Folge 1:1 (1953), p. 3.

the relations between Rome and these lands. The chronicle has survived in several manuscripts, the oldest being the Codex Zamoyski from the end of the thirteenth century. It has been published in several printed versions, first in 1740 when Johann Daniel Gruber published it under the title *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis, seu Chronicon livonicum vetus* with the subtitles *Gesta Meinardi*, *Gesta Bertoldi* and *Gesta Alberti*.⁷

The other chronicle to come out of Livonia, the so-called Livonian Rhymed Chronicle or Livländische Reimchronik, written in Middle High German, covers the period from about 1180 to 1290 when, it is supposed, the work was completed. It was written for the Teutonic Order and is assumed to have been composed by one of its members.⁸ It is of less importance here, because it focuses almost exclusively on the military activities of the Teutonic Knights and yields little information on papal policy.

An analysis of papal policy on the Baltic crusades must, of course, mainly be based on the letters issued by the curia. The expansion of papal authority and activity led to an increased correspondence and to changes in the papal chancery as more business was brought before the curia, but it is impossible to ascertain with any certainty how many letters were issued during the various pontificates. We only have a minor fraction left.⁹ Of the surviving letters, some exist

⁷ *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis seu chronicon Livonicum vetus*, ed. J. D. Gruber (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1740); J. A. Brundage, "Introduction to the 2003 Edition", in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, transl. J. A. Brundage, 2nd edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. xxx; Bauer, "Einleitung", pp. xxx–xxxii. The Codex Zamoyski was destroyed during the Second World War (Johansen, "Die Chronik as Biographie", pp. 1–2).

⁸ *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. L. Meyer (Paderborn, 1876); J. C. Smith and W. L. Urban, "Foreword", in *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, ed. and transl. J. C. Smith and W. L. Urban (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1977), pp. xxi–xxv; A. V. Murray, "The Structure, Genre and Intended Audiences of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*", in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 235–6.

⁹ See C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney, "Introduction", in *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) concerning England and Wales*, ed. C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); R. L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the time of Innocent III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915); A. Murray, "Pope Gregory VII and his Letters", *Traditio* XXII (1966); P. Herde, *Audientia litterarum contradictarum. Untersuchungen über die päpstlichen Justizbriefe und die päpstliche Delegationsgerichtsbarkeit vom 13. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* [Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom XXXI–II], 2 vols (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1970); P. Zutshi, "Innocent III and the Reform of the Papal Chancery", in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9–15*

in the original, while others are found only as copies in registers and letter-books of the recipient institutions and individuals or their successors. Others have survived as copies in the decretal collections or in the papal registers in the curia. The papal chancery kept registers of some of the issued letters from its early days, but only from the early thirteenth century are these fairly complete. The registers from Innocent III's pontificate lack the correspondence from most of his third pontifical year and all of his fourth, while the volume containing the register from his seventeenth to nineteenth year is known to have been damaged in 1339 and is now missing. From Innocent III's successor onwards most registers have been preserved. They are, however, by no means complete records of all the correspondence issued by the chancery.¹⁰

Most papal letters and privileges were issued upon request. The petitions have generally had a low survival rate, and this is very much the case with regard to the petitions from those involved in the activities in the Baltic in this period: not one letter to the pope has been found to have survived. The gist of the content of these petitions may, however, in some cases be deduced with some certainty from the *narratio* of the papal replies. That a papal letter was issued in response to a local petition is often stated explicitly in the reply, but even if this is not the case, it may sometimes be assumed from the issue of other letters to a petitioner. Naturally, considering the cost and preparation necessary to send an envoy to the curia, petitioners usually brought more than one matter before the pope. The petitions were presented to the curia by messengers or, increasingly from the early thirteenth century onwards, by professional procurators who eventually became resident at the curia as religious orders and rulers came to need permanent representation.¹¹ A cautious esti-

settembre 1998 [Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. *Nuovi Studi Storici* 55/*Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria* XLIV], ed. A. Sommerlechner, 2 vols (Rome: la Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2003).

¹⁰ See C. R. Cheney, *The Study of the Medieval Papal Chancery* [*The Edwards Lectures* 2] (Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Company, 1966); O. Hageneder, "Die päpstlichen Register des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts", *Annali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari dell'Università di Roma* XII:1-2 (1972), pp. 59-68; Cheney and Cheney, "Introduction", pp. xix-xxi.

¹¹ P. Herde, *Beiträge zum päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen im dreizehnten Jahrhundert* [*Münchener Historische Studien, Abteilung Geschichtl. Hilfswissenschaften* 1], 2nd edition (Munich: Verlag Michael Lassleben, 1967), pp. 125ff.; Sayers, *Papal Government and England*, pp. 32-5.

mate of the travel times for the journey to Rome from Denmark or Lübeck, the key port of transit in the western Baltic region and also for traffic from Livonia, Estonia and Prussia, is six to eight weeks, depending on the season and mode of transportation.¹²

It is in most cases impossible to distinguish between the decision-makers at the curia and to decide who dealt with the requests once the petition had been presented. Petitions were dealt with by various officials, depending on their importance. Minor cases were decided by the head of the chancery, that is, the chancellor or the vice-chancellor. Already in the twelfth century the post of chancellor was often left vacant for extended periods, and from Honorius III's pontificate onwards it became common not to appoint chancellors but to use vice-chancellors instead, perhaps in an attempt to reduce the power of the incumbent of that position.¹³ Cases of greater importance, such as requests for privileges, protection and indulgences, were brought before the pope, while matters of great political significance often were decided in *consistorium*, an assembly presided over by the pope and including the cardinals.¹⁴ In the latter cases the papal replies often reflected this, containing phrases such as "*de consilio fratrum nostrorum*".¹⁵ From the late twelfth century onwards it became normal judicial practice to refer some cases to one or more cardinals, known as *auditores*, who then proposed a verdict to the pope.¹⁶ Apart from those letters which explicitly mention a consistorial decision, it is not possible to decide who made the decision in question,

¹² The Icelandic Abbot Nicholas (d. 1159) spent nine weeks on pilgrimage to Rome from Schleswig (J. Gallén, "Les voyages de S. Dominique au Danemark. Essai de datation", in *Xenia mediæ ævi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppeli* [*Storia e letteratura* 141–2], ed. R. Creytens and P. Künzle, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1978), vol. 1, p. 83). See also N. Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, transl. C. Hillier (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), p. 101, and C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple, "Introduction", in *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198–1216)*, ed. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953), p. xv).

¹³ Sayers, *Papal Government and England*, p. 25; Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198*, pp. 95–7; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 572–3.

¹⁴ Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198*, pp. 99ff.; Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, pp. 237–8.

¹⁵ It must be assumed that in these cases the pope usually followed the counsel of the cardinals, although some popes are reported to have disregarded or overruled a consistorial decision in some cases (Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198*, pp. 113ff.).

¹⁶ Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198*, p. 106.

and it is not known whether the papal replies to the petitions from the powers involved in the Baltic crusades were given by the pope, his cardinals or his officials at the curia. In this analysis of the papal policy on the Baltic crusades, therefore, no distinction is made between decisions made by the pope himself, the cardinals or those made by the chancery officers. ‘Pope’ and ‘curia’ will often be used synonymously. This approach may be defended on the grounds that it is unlikely that the line taken by the cardinals and the officials would deviate markedly from that of the pope, and that the pope presumably would be consulted in matters of great importance.

There is a considerable body of secondary literature on the Baltic crusades, and new works are added at a fast pace. This reflects a growing interest in the Baltic crusades which makes it a rapidly expanding and vibrant field of research. The opening up of eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union has led to fruitful collaboration between scholars from West and East, bringing together different historiographical traditions and linguistic abilities.¹⁷ One result is the book edited by Alan V. Murray, *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500* (2001).¹⁸ Furthermore, the increased interest in the Baltic crusades has generated a series of publications by Scandinavian scholars. Danish historians have set out to redress the lack of research on the Danish involvement in the crusade movement in general and the Baltic crusades in particular.¹⁹ Also the Swedish expeditions to Finland have recently been the topic of much research and reassessment by Swedish and Finnish scholars.²⁰ Most

¹⁷ See also S. Ekdahl, “Crusades and colonization in the Baltic”. In *The Crusades [Palgrave advances in the crusades]*, ed. H. Nicholson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

¹⁸ Other examples are *Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.–14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. M. Müller-Wille, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997–1998) and *Culture Clash or Compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area 1100–1400 [Acta Visbyensia 11]*, ed. N. Blomkvist (Visby: Gotland Centre for Baltic Studies, 1998).

¹⁹ See J. H. Lind, C. S. Jensen, K. V. Jensen and A. L. Bysted, *Danske korstog. Krig og mission i Østersøen* (Copenhagen: Høst og Søn, 2004); see also *Krig, korstog og kolonisering [Den jyske Historiker 89]*, ed. T. K. Nielsen, N. Koefoed and I. Fønnesberg Schmidt (Åarhus: Den jyske Historiker, 2000).

²⁰ See for instance P. O. Sjöstrand, *Hur Finland vanns för Sverige. En historia för nationalstater [Opuscula Historica Upsalensia 16]* (Uppsala: S. Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1996); T. Lindkvist, “Med Sankt Erik konung mot hedningar och skismatiker. Korståg och korstågsideologi i svensk medeltida östpolitik”, in *Väst möter öst. Norden och Ryssland genom historien*, ed. M. Engman (Stockholm: Carlssons, 1996); D. Fewster, “Approaches to the Conversion of the Finns: Ideologies, Symbols, and Archaeological Features”,

of these studies focus on the character of these expeditions, the motivations of the kings involved and the consequences of the integration of the conquered lands into Latin Christendom.²¹

The Teutonic Order's activities in Prussia and Livonia have long been the object of much research, reflecting a keen, and at times nationalistic, German interest in the Order. The research has mainly been concerned with the Order's political history, its military campaigns and conquests as well as its organizational structure and development.²² While some studies include analyses of the Order's relations to the papacy, they do not generally deal with the wider papal policy in the Baltic region. Furthermore, as the Order only arrived in the region around 1230, papal policy up to that point has not been of much interest to these scholars. Friedrich Benninghoven's *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* (1965) on the Order of Sword-Brothers which in 1237 was incorporated into the Teutonic Order is, however, of great importance because of its detailed analysis of the Livonian mission from c. 1200 to 1237.

Also the eastward expansion of Latin Christendom and the colonization of north-eastern Europe has long been a subject of interest to scholars. Among the more recent and popular studies is Robert Bartlett's book *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 900–1350* (1993). It is also described in Eric Christiansen's book *The Northern Crusades* (1980, second edition 1997), a wide-ranging study covering the period from the middle of the twelfth century to 1562 when the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order was secularised. Among other key works on the conquest and conversion

in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals* [International Medieval Research 7], ed. G. Armstrong and I. N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

²¹ Prior to this renewed interest, key works on Scandinavia and the crusades were P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des Croisades*, 2 vols (Paris: A. D. Lainé et J. Havard, 1865); P. Rebane, "Denmark and the Baltic Crusade, 1150–1227" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1969). See also Rebane's "Denmark, the Papacy and the Christianization of Estonia", in *Gli inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Storia Ecclesiastica in Occasione dell'VIII Centenario della Chiesa in Livonia* [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche. Atti e Documenti I] (Vatican City: Liberia Editrice Vaticana, 1989).

²² See for instance P. M. Tumlner, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400 mit einem Abriss der Geschichte des Ordens von 1400 bis zur neuesten Zeit* (Vienna: Panorama, 1954); H. Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden. Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1981).

of the Baltic lands are the studies by William Urban, including *The Baltic Crusade* (1975, second edition 1994), *The Prussian Crusade* (1980) and *The Livonian Crusade* (1981).

Common to most of the works mentioned so far is that they do not discuss the papal policy on the Baltic crusades between the middle of the twelfth century and the middle of the thirteenth century in much detail. Others, by Hans-Dietrich Kahl, Friedrich Lotter, Ernst-Dieter Hehl and Giles Constable, have discussed the proclamation of the crusade against the pagan Slavs in 1147 and the ideas of Pope Eugenius III and Bernard of Clairvaux that lay behind it.²³ An analysis of papal policy on the Baltic crusades is found in Helmut Roscher's *Papst Innozenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (1969). This study was the first to show the significant influence of Innocent III on crusading. Its main focus is, however, on the crusades to the Holy Land and Roscher devotes only one short chapter to the Baltic crusades. He briefly outlines the policy of Innocent's predecessors and that of Innocent's immediate successor, Honorius III, but his conclusions on Honorius's policy are very different from those reached in this study. His conclusions on Innocent III and the Baltic crusade have recently been supplemented by a PhD thesis by Barbara Bombi.²⁴

With his book *Papstrescript und Kaiserrescript im Mittelalter* from 1971 Ernst Pitz set out to examine the concept of the *Reskript* and to establish it in the study of diplomacy, choosing the Baltic mission in the period 1188–1227 as his case study.²⁵ Because of its detailed exam-

²³ See for instance H.-D. Kahl, "Die Ableitung des Missionskreuzzugs aus sibyllinischer Eschatologie (Zur Bedeutung Bernhards von Clairvaux für die Zwangschristianisierungsprogramme im Ostseeraum)", in *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonialisierung des Ostseegebietes* [*Ordines Militares—Colloquia Torunensia Historica* I], ed. Z. H. Nowak (Toruń: Universitas Nicolai Copernici, 1983); F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs: Ideengeschichtliche, kirchenrechtliche und historisch-politische Voraussetzungen der Missionierung von Elb- und Ostseeslawen um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* [*Vorträge und Forschungen* 23] (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1977); E.-D. Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit* [*Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 19] (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1980); G. Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries", *Traditio* IX (1953).

²⁴ B. Bombi, "Innocenzo III e la 'praedicatio' ai pagani del nord Europa. Missione e crociata (1198–1216)" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 2001). Unfortunately this thesis has not yet been published, although some of the results have been made available through conference papers.

²⁵ Pitz's study evoked some criticism. His response and further thoughts can be found in his article "Die römische Kurie als Thema der vergleichenden Sozialgeschichte", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 58 (1978).

ination of the papal letters concerning the mission in that period, Pitz's work is immensely useful for the examination of the papal policy on the Baltic crusades, but it is not, and was not intended to be, an analysis of the development in the papal policy on the Baltic crusade. Pitz drew attention to the restrictions on the curia's decision-making, caused by its limited capacity and poor information, and he emphasised its reactive character. I find myself in complete agreement with the view that the curia was reactive, rather than proactive, but I suggest that it had more leeway, in exercising discretion and refusing to meet the petitions it received, than allowed for by Pitz.²⁶

The studies that have been made on papal policy on the Baltic crusades from the middle of the twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth have thus focused mainly on Eugenius III's policy for the crusade of 1147 or on the pontificate of Innocent III and have not attempted to analyse papal policy in the intervening period or after Innocent III's pontificate. This 'hiatus' may reflect the fact that many historians seem to have assumed that it found its final form with the proclamation of the crusade of 1147 and have therefore not set out to examine whether Eugenius's successors maintained his policy on the ensuing Baltic crusades. This may partly be explained by the fact that many of the scholars who have produced the bulk of the works on the Baltic crusades have approached the topic mainly with a focus on their own national history and have had little interest in papal history or even in the interaction between the local powers of the Baltic region and the papacy. This study attempts to fill the gap.

²⁶ See for instance Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 135–6.

CHAPTER ONE

PAPAL POLICY ON THE BALTIC CRUSADES TO 1198

The expansion of Christendom into north-east Europe had taken off with the Frankish wars against Saxony which gradually had been subjugated and incorporated into the Frankish political and ecclesiastical system.¹ In the middle of the tenth century King Otto I of Germany (936–73) continued the eastward expansion and targeted the people east of the Elbe, the Abodrites, Wilzes and Sorbs who were a sub-group of the Baltic and Elbe Slavs, the so-called Wends. Their subjugation and conversion proved difficult and the eleventh century saw rebellion and apostasy intermingled with periods of cooperation between Abodrite princes, Saxon dukes and Danish kings.²

In the early twelfth century the conquest and conversion of the Slavs received new impetus when Lothar of Supplinburg (1106–37) was made duke of Saxony. Along with his margraves he worked to extend the Saxon sphere of power all along the Elbe, while the Danish princes focused their interest on the coastal lands of the Abodrites. Further east Duke Boleslaw III (1102–38) of Poland forced the Pomeranians and the eastern Liutizian tribes living west of the Oder to recognize Polish overlordship and accept Christianity.³

¹ R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983), pp. 61ff.; P. Fouracre, “Frankish Gaul to 814”, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume II: c. 700–c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 98–104.

² F. Lotter, “The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Region East of the Elbe”, in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 267–73. For the warfare between Christians and pagans in the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, see also M. Bünding-Naujoks, “Das Imperium Christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert”, *Historische Studien* 366 (1940). Reprinted in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters [Wege der Forschung 7]*, ed. H. Beumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963); and J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum im kirchlich-politischen Kräftespiel des Reichs, Polens und Dänemarks vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert: Mission, Kirchenorganisation, Kulturpolitik [Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart 17]* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1979).

³ Lotter, “The Crusading Idea”, pp. 278–9; Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, pp. 213ff.

Conversion was not always an essential element in the princes' plans, and they cooperated with pagan rulers or with Christian rulers of pagan peoples.⁴ The princes were equally motivated by their desire to extend their power and prestige by establishing systems of overlordship, creating alliances and raising tributes. When conversion was achieved, the pagans were generally either christianized forcefully as a consequence of conquest by a Christian power or made to convert because their local pagan ruler voluntarily accepted Christianity. Either way, most were baptized without having received much instruction in their new faith.⁵

The princes often cooperated with the local ecclesiastical leaders to subjugate the pagans and to create (or recreate) an ecclesiastical organization. Among the important missionary archbishoprics were those of Magdeburg, Hamburg-Bremen and Gnesen (Gniezno). The clergy spurred on the princes by calling for the conversion of the pagans. Some argued that the lands east of the Elbe once had been Christian and now rightfully could be recovered for Christendom; others legitimized warfare against the pagans as self-defence because of pagan attacks.⁶ While the theologians maintained that conversion should be voluntary, there was a widespread pragmatic acceptance of conversion obtained through political pressure or military coercion, and some chroniclers accepted or even praised wars of conversion.⁷

⁴ The Abodrite Prince Henry (1093–1127) was thus backed by the Saxon dukes and Danish kings who accepted that he, although himself a Christian, did not attempt to christianize his subjects for fear of rebellion (Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", p. 273; Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, pp. 49–50; *Die Slawen in Deutschland. Geschichte und Kultur der slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neiße vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. J. Herrmann (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), pp. 379–81). For some similarities with developments on the Iberian Peninsula, see for instance R. A. Fletcher, "Reconquest and the Crusade in Spain, c. 1050–1150", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, 37 (1987).

⁵ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 265–6.

⁶ Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", pp. 274–5 and p. 303; C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 267.

⁷ See for instance Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. H. Stooß, [*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XIX*] (Berlin, 1963), II:108, pp. 370–4. For a similar attitude among Carolingian writers, see A. M. Luiselli Fadda, "The Vernacular and the Propagation of the Faith in Anglo-Saxon Missionary Activity", in *Missions and Missionaries [Studies in Church History 13]*, ed. P. N. Holtrop and H. McLeod (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), p. 1. Helmold of Bosau (*Chronica Slavorum* I:84, pp. 288–98) did, however, criticize the princes' demands for tributes which, he believed, hindered the conversion process. For the possible radicalization

Several north German and Polish princes participated, along with the Danish king and the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, in the crusade against the Slavs which was proclaimed in 1147 by Pope Eugenius III as part of the so-called Second Crusade. Their endeavours brought little immediate success, but in the latter half of the twelfth century the German and Danish princes continued their campaigns and eventually completed the conquest of the lands between the Elbe and the Oder. Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony (1142–95) and his vassals were active in the northern part of the region east of the Elbe, namely in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Henry often cooperated with the Danes who, under the leadership of King Valdemar I (1157–82) attacked the Wends almost annually from the late 1150s.⁸ Count Albert the Bear (1123–70) focused his interest further inland, on the area east of Magdeburg between the middle Elbe and the Oder which was to become Mark Brandenburg, and in 1157 he finally conquered the area in cooperation with Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg (1152/54–1192).⁹ In Poland, however, the fragmentation of Polish royal power after 1138 limited the Polish territorial expansion.¹⁰

The latter half of the twelfth century also saw the beginning of missionary activity further east in the Baltic region. The Swedes intensified their attempts at subjugating Finland, and in the 1150s they undertook an expedition, the so-called First Finnish Crusade, to south-western Finland where a mission was established under the leadership of Bishop Henry of Uppsala. Henry was killed in Finland in 1156 but the mission continued despite great resistance, and the Swedes led several campaigns against south-western Finland in the

of the attitudes of the Christians in the western Baltic region towards their pagan neighbours, see Lotter, “The Crusading Idea”, pp. 274–5 and p. 303 (for changing Western attitudes towards Muslims, see R. C. Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz. Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus* [Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 15] (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1977), pp. 97–108, and B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)).

⁸ Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. P. Zeeberg and K. Friis-Jensen, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 2005), XIV:20–XIV:25, vol. 2, pp. 242–88, XIV:30–XIV:51, vol. 2, pp. 322–434, XV:1, vol. 2, pp. 476–80, and XV:6, vol. 2, pp. 506–10; N. Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave. Danmarkshistorie uden retouche* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1971), pp. 145–54.

⁹ Lotter, “The Crusading Idea”, pp. 301–2.

¹⁰ Lotter, “The Crusading Idea”, pp. 294–303; Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, p. 349 and pp. 410ff.

subsequent decades.¹¹ It may have been reports about the Swedish mission which in the 1160s led the Danish Archbishop Eskil (1137–77) to plan a new mission in Estonia and to appoint a monk, Fulco, as bishop of Estonia. The project was beset with difficulties and it cannot even be determined whether Fulco ever visited his missionary field.¹² The Danish interest in Estonia resurfaced in the 1190s, but a royal campaign there proved unsuccessful.¹³

Independent of this Danish project a new mission was started in Livonia in the 1180s by Meinhard, a regular canon from the house of Segeberg near Lübeck. Inspired by accounts from German merchants about the pagan Livonians and supported by the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen he set up his mission at Üxküll (Ikšķile) on the Düna River where he founded a church. However, Meinhard was unable to overcome the local hostility and was killed by the pagans in 1196. His successor, the Cistercian Bishop Berthold likewise had little success and was killed in a battle against the Livonians in the summer of 1198.¹⁴ By the end of the twelfth century the conquests by the Christian powers had thus closed the gap of pagan territories between the Elbe and the Oder, and missionary activities had spread to the easternmost part of the Baltic region.

¹¹ The continued mission is evident from letter of 9 September [1171 × 1172]: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 24; the continued Swedish campaigns are mentioned in letter of 4 April 1216: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 52; T. Edgren and L. Törnblom, *Finlands Historia*, 4 vols (Esbo: Schildts, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 284–93.

¹² Letter of [1172 × 1174]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 34; letter of [1171 × 1173]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 29; P. Johansen, *Nordische Mission, Revels Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland* [*Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar* 74] (Stockholm: Wahlström och Widstrand, 1951), pp. 90–4; T. Nyberg, “Eskil av Lund och Erik den helige”, in *Historia och samhälle. Studier tillägnade Jerker Rosén* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1975), p. 12; and T. Nyberg, “The Danish Church and Mission in Estonia”, *Nordeuropaforum* 1 (1998), pp. 60–1, for discussions of Fulco’s possible visit to the eastern Baltic region. The plans were still in place in the late 1170s: letter of [1178 × 1180]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 81; letter of [1179 × 1180]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 88.

¹³ ‘Annales Valdemarii’, ed. E. Kroman, in *Danmarks Middelalderlige Annaler*, ed. E. Kroman (Copenhagen, 1980), *sub anno* 1197, p. 77; ‘Annales Nestvediensis minores’, ed. E. Kroman, in *Danmarks Middelalderlige Annaler*, ed. E. Kroman (Copenhagen, 1980), *sub anno* 1196, p. 84.

¹⁴ See the account of Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, [*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* XXIV] (Darmstadt, 1959), I:2–14, pp. 4–10 and II:6, p. 14. For the western relations to Livonia prior to the mission, see for instance M. Hellmann, “Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West auf baltischem Boden im 13. Jahrhundert”, *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 25 (1978).

The pontificate of Eugenius III (1145–53)

The crusade against the pagan Slavs which was proclaimed in 1147 by Pope Eugenius III was the first papally authorized campaign in the Baltic region. A Baltic crusade was not, however, part of the initial plan for the Second Crusade. The first arrangements all concerned a crusade in aid of the Holy Land.

Embassies from the Latin East had reached the newly elected Pope Eugenius III in November 1145 to inform him of the fall of Edessa on 24 December 1144 to 'Imad ad-Din Zengi and his troops. Other envoys, from Antioch and Jerusalem, had been sent to the French king, Louis VII. In response to this news, the pope issued the crusade encyclical *Quantum praedecessores* on 1 December, calling upon the French king and Christians in France to come to the defence of the Holy Land. King Louis, apparently acting independently of the papal plans, urged the bishops and nobles gathered at his Christmas court at Bourges to join him on an expedition in aid of the Holy Land. Neither appeal produced enthusiastic responses.¹⁵ It was the intervention of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, one of the most influential leaders of the western Church at this time, which changed this state of affairs. Louis sought support from Bernard who in turn referred the issue to the pope.¹⁶ After negotiations between the curia and the French court, Eugenius reissued *Quantum praedecessores*, with minor changes, on 1 March 1146 and appointed Bernard to preach the crusade in northern Europe. This version of *Quantum praedecessores* was to set a precedent for future crusade letters calling for aid to the Holy Land.¹⁷

¹⁵ Letter of 1 December 1145: *PL*, vol. 180, cols 1064–6; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), pp. 93–4. For the debate on whether King Louis acted independently or after consultation with Pope Eugenius, see J. G. Rowe, "The Origins of the Second Crusade: Pope Eugenius III, Bernard of Clairvaux and Louis VII of France", in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 83–4, and A. Grabois, "The Crusade of King Louis VII: a Reconsideration", in *Crusade and Settlement. Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 94ff.; J. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land. Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 78–82.

¹⁶ H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edition, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 93–5.

¹⁷ Letter of 1 March 1146: 'Der Text der Kreuzzugsbulle Eugens III. vom 1. März 1146, Trastevere', ed. P. Rassow, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche*

Bernard embarked on a strenuous tour of France to promote the crusade. Important themes in his promotion of this crusade, and later also in the promotion of the Wendish crusade, were eschatological ideas perhaps inspired by the so-called Sibylline prophecies¹⁸ and the idea of *tempus acceptabile*. *Tempus acceptabile* was a “time of acceptance”, a “day of abundant salvation” (2 Cor. 6,2). The enemies of the cross had risen against the Church as God’s punishment for the sins of the Christians, but in his mercy God had given his faithful a means of salvation, the crusade.¹⁹ This motif was, as will be seen later, to be taken up by subsequent popes. A meeting held by Bernard and King Louis on 31 March 1146 at Vézelay generated an overwhelming response and was followed by a successful recruiting campaign. Soon, however, Bernard was compelled to expand his itinerary into northern France and Germany in order to regain control over the crusade preaching there which had spun out of control through the inflammatory preaching of the Cistercian monk Radulf whose sermons had caused violent attacks on Jews living in the region.²⁰ Meanwhile, the pope expanded the recruiting

Geschichtskunde LV (1924), pp. 302–5; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz and B. von Simson, [*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum Monumentis Germaniae Historicae recusi*] (Hannover, 1912), I:35–6, pp. 54–7; U. Schwerin, *Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innocenz IV. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kurialen Kreuzzugspropaganda und der päpstlichen Epitolographie* [*Historische Studien 301*] (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering, 1937), p. 75.

¹⁸ H.-D. Kahl, “Die Ableitung des Missionskreuzzugs aus sibyllinischer Eschatologie (Zur Bedeutung Bernhards von Clairvaux für die Zwangschristianisierungsprogramme im Ostseeraum)”, in *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonialisierung des Ostseegebietes* [*Ordines Militares—Colloquia Torunensia Historica* I], ed. Z. H. Nowak (Toruń: Universitas Nicolai Copernici, 1983), *passim*; H.-D. Kahl, “Crusade Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard in the Years 1146 to 1147”, in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), pp. 35–6; H.-D. Kahl, “Die Kreuzzugeschatologie Bernhards von Clairvaux und ihre missionsgeschichtliche Auswirkung”, in *Bernhard von Clairvaux und der Beginn der Moderne*, ed. D. R. Bauer and G. Fuchs (Innsbruck: Tyrolia Verlag, 1996), pp. 295–300. See however B. McGinn, “Saint Bernard and Eschatology”, in *Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies presented to Dom Jean Leclercq* [*Cistercian Studies Series 23*] (Washington D.C.: Cistercian Publications, 1973), especially p. 171 and pp. 181–3.

¹⁹ Letter of [August–September] 1146: *S. Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome, 1957–77), vol. 8, no. 363; G. Constable, “The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries”, *Traditio* IX (1953), p. 247; É. Delaruelle, “L’idée de Croisade chez Saint Bernard”, in *Mélanges Saint Bernard. XXIV^e Congrès de l’Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes* (Dijon: Marilier, 1953), pp. 56–60; Lotter, “The Crusading Idea”, p. 286.

²⁰ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 94–5.

efforts by issuing on 5 October 1146 a new papal crusade letter, *Divini dispensatione*, addressed to the Italian clergy, with formulations of the indulgence and the privileges awarded to the crusaders identical to the ones in the two versions of *Quantum praedecessores*.²¹

In Germany King Conrad III took the cross at his Christmas court in Speyer in 1146.²² Bernard's campaign to recruit German participants for an expedition to the Holy Land continued successfully, but at a meeting in Frankfurt on 13 March 1147 a large group of German crusaders, mainly Saxon nobles, expressed a wish to campaign against the pagan Wends rather than against the Muslims in the Latin East.²³ Bernard accepted this and thereby acknowledged and legitimized ideas prevailing in the region for decades, because the idea of a crusade against the pagans drew on ideas of spiritually rewarded warfare against pagans current in the region since the second half of the eleventh century. Adam of Bremen recounts how Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen (1043–72) had exhorted the princes subject to his archbishopric to undertake the conversion of pagans; he had implored them to engage in campaigns to convert them, emphasising that they “would receive great rewards in Heaven in return for the conversion of the pagans”.²⁴ Such ideas had also been expressed in a letter of 1108, the anonymous composer of which is believed to have been a Flemish clerk in the circle of the archbishop of Magdeburg. This document, which had the form of an appeal for help against the pagans from the archbishop of Magdeburg, his suffragans and the princes of east Saxony, is believed to be a result of a meeting in 1108 between King Henry V and a number of ecclesiastical and secular leaders.²⁵ It was addressed

²¹ Letter of 5 October 1146: ‘Papsturkunden in Malta’, ed. P. Kehr, *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1899), no. 3.

²² For a discussion of Conrad's decision to take the cross, see J. Phillips, “Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade”, in *The Second Crusade. Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), especially pp. 20–7.

²³ Letter of [after 13 March] 1147: *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 8, no. 457; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 96.

²⁴ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, [*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*] (Hannover, 1917), III:21, pp. 163–4.

²⁵ Letter of 1108: ‘Handschriftliches’, ed. W. Wattenbach, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde VII* (1881), pp. 624–6; Lotter, “The Crusading Idea”, pp. 275–8.

to prelates and princes in the west, most notably Count Robert of Flanders who had participated in the First Crusade with great success. It described the pagan attacks on the Christian territory and their desecration of its churches in great detail and called upon Christians of Saxony, France, Lorraine and Flanders to join the warfare against these pagans. The letter spoke only of warfare against them and did not mention conversion. It stated that the German king “has declared this war” and that the Danish king and other princes had offered their help. A parallel was made between Jerusalem and the eastern territory, which is described as “our Jerusalem”, thereby making a parallel to the First Crusade. Finally, the appeal promised that this would be “an occasion for you to save your souls”, a somewhat vague promise of spiritual rewards, necessarily so because of course only the pope could grant an indulgence. More temporal rewards were also offered: this was an occasion to “acquire the best land in which to live”, the land “is the best, rich in meat, honey, corn and birds; and if it were well cultivated none could be compared to it for the wealth of its produce”.²⁶ No campaigns are, however, known to have resulted.

The wording of a letter issued by Bernard after the meeting in Frankfurt in March 1147 implies that he had already approved the crusade against the Slavs at this meeting and had declared it to be on a par with the crusade in aid of the Holy Land without consulting the pope and thus without waiting for papal authorization. In this letter Bernard stated that he “promised [the men crusading against the pagans] the same spiritual privileges as those enjoy who set out towards Jerusalem”. Furthermore, he appears at the meeting to have allowed the preaching of this crusade: “It has pleased all those who were gathered at Frankfurt to decree that a copy of this letter should be carried everywhere and that the bishops should proclaim it to the people of God”.²⁷ Bernard thus initially disregarded papal authority in the matter of the Wendish crusade. An explanation may be found in his views on the right to initiate war-

²⁶ Letter of 1108: ‘Handschriftliches’, pp. 624–6; translation from L. Riley-Smith and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 75–7.

²⁷ Letter of [after 13 March] 1147: *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 8, no. 457; translation from *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, transl. B. S. James, 2nd edition (Stroud, 1998), no. 394.

fare. While he believed that the pope in specific cases could determine whether the use of force was justified and that the pope had the power to initiate warfare for the defence of Christianity, Bernard also believed that the right to declare war, and to wage war, was the prerogative of secular princes. While the pope could thus authorize warfare against the enemies of Christianity, he could not declare such wars himself. He could, however, subsequently decide whether the enterprise was a just one and give it his approval by issuing an authorization.²⁸

In early April 1147, Bernard met Eugenius in Clairvaux where he persuaded the pope to support the idea of a crusade against the pagans and to formally authorize it. This was done in the letter *Divini dispensatione*, issued at Troyes on 11 April 1147.²⁹ Bernard's success in persuading the pope to accept the extension of the crusade to include a crusade against the Wends should be attributed to several factors. Bernard was a former teacher of Eugenius who had been a monk at Clairvaux, and the two enjoyed a uniquely close relationship.³⁰ Furthermore, Eugenius was in fact presented with a *fait accompli*. Several German nobles had already taken the cross at the meeting in Frankfurt,³¹ leaving the pope little choice but acceptance, as a denunciation of the course taken by Bernard would have caused great damage to the recruiting campaign for the crusade in aid of the Holy Land. Eugenius may not, however, have been opposed to such a turn of events. He may have shared the ideas of Bernard. Furthermore, Eugenius had already, after requests from King Alfonso

²⁸ J. A. Brundage, "St. Bernard and the Jurists", in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 27–8. When Bernard earlier had refused to cooperate with Louis VII by preaching a crusade until he had received orders to do so from the pope (Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I*, I:35: pp. 54–5), this need not be interpreted as grounded in ideas about the necessity of papal initiative in such expeditions. Giles Constable ("The Second Crusade", p. 244) and James A. Brundage ("St. Bernard and the Jurists", p. 29) ascribe this hesitancy to Bernard's awareness of the canonical prohibition of preaching by monks.

²⁹ Letter of 11 April 1147: *PL*, vol. 180, cols 1203–4. It is debated whether this letter should be dated to 11 or 13 April 1147.

³⁰ See for instance E. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard, Abbé de Clairvaux*, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1895), vol. II, pp. 436–7.

³¹ This is reflected in Bernard's letter issued after the meeting in Frankfurt which states that: "*Et multi quidem signati sunt ipso loco . . .*": letter of [after 13 March] 1147: *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 8, no. 457.

VII of Castile, allowed the extension of the crusade to Spain, expanding the crusade to become a campaign against the enemies of the Church on two fronts, in a way reminiscent of the venture planned in the early 1120s by Calixtus II (1119–24).³² The wording of *Divini dispensatione* shows that Eugenius now envisioned the crusades as a united attack on infidels, a joint fight fought on three fronts. He explained that just as some Christians were preparing themselves to fight for the liberation of the Church in the Latin East and as the Spanish princes were girding themselves for the fight against the Muslims, others were preparing themselves to fight the pagan Slavs.³³

In *Divini dispensatione* the pope addressed all Christians and outlined the nature of the campaign against the Slavs. The purpose of this campaign was, Eugenius stated, to subject the pagans to the Christian faith, “*eos Christianæ religioni subjugare*”, and to promote the Christian faith amongst them, “*de promovenda Christiana religione*”.³⁴ He thereby in effect allowed the use of force against pagans in order to convert them which is a startling contradiction of canon law. There was no attempt to justify the crusade as being in the defence of the Church. In stating the aim of the enterprise Eugenius was more restrained than Bernard who in his letter concerning the Wendish crusade stated that it was forbidden to make a truce with the pagans “until such a time as, with God’s help, they shall be either converted or wiped out”.³⁵ This formulation, “*donec, auxiliante Deo, aut ritus ipse, aut natio deleatur*”, has caused great debate among later historians. According to scholars such as Jonathan Riley-Smith, this comes close to being a proclamation of a missionary war and is the more startling because elsewhere Bernard, in line with contemporary canonical thought, had opposed forcible conversion.³⁶ This has been the dominant interpretation and Hans-Dietrich Kahl has explained it with reference to Bernard’s eschatological ideas.³⁷ But according

³² Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 91–2 and p. 96.

³³ Letter of 11 April 1147: *PL*, vol. 180, cols 1203–4. See also H.-D. Kahl, “Die weltweite Bereinigung der Heidenfrage—ein übersehenes Kriegsziel des Zweiten Kreuzzugs”, in *Spannungen und Widersprüche. Gedenkschrift für František Graus*, ed. S. Burghartz et al. (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), p. 72.

³⁴ Letter of 11 April 1147: *PL*, vol. 180, cols 1203–4. See also the undated letter of 1147 to Henry of Olmütz: *PL*, vol. 180, col. 1262.

³⁵ Letter of [after 13 March] 1147: *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 8, no. 457.

³⁶ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 96.

³⁷ Kahl, “Crusade Eschatology”, pp. 38ff.

to others, such as Friedrich Lotter, Bernard's formulation should not be understood as a call for "baptism or death" for pagans, rather as a call for either the pagans' conversion or their subjugation to Christian rulers through the destruction of their *natio*, their political organization or community.³⁸ Bernard implied that the campaign could be justified as a defensive war, because the pagans were set up by the devil against the Christians and now lay in wait with evil intent, "*perniciose insidiantes dissimulans*".³⁹ This idea may have been furthered by accounts of previous pagan aggression in the region told to Bernard by the German magnates at the meeting, but Bernard does not refer to such reports which could have legitimized the new campaign as a defensive one.

Eugenius promised crusaders the same indulgence as that granted by Pope Urban II to crusaders to the Holy Land and participants in the campaigns against the pagans thus received the same indulgence as those who responded to Eugenius's call for crusades to the East. It was awarded to all participants, but the pope emphasised—as did Bernard in his letter on the Wendish crusade—that only men who had not already taken the cross to go to the Latin East could join the crusade against the pagans.⁴⁰ The participants were taken under papal protection, along with their property.⁴¹ But crusaders fighting the Wends did not receive all the temporal privileges enjoyed by crusaders going to the Holy Land. In the two versions of *Quantum praedecessores* crusaders in the East were also granted protection of their wives and children; it was forbidden to bring legal suits against

³⁸ F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs: Ideengeschichtliche, kirchenrechtliche und historisch-politische Voraussetzungen der Missionierung von Elb- und Ostseeslawen um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* [Vorträge und Forschungen 23] (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1977), pp. 38–43; Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", pp. 289–92. For a critique of Lotter's view, see E.-D. Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit* [Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 19] (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1980), pp. 134–5, note 573.

³⁹ Letter of [after 13 March] 1147: *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 8, no. 457; Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", p. 289.

⁴⁰ "... omnibus illis qui crucem eandem Hierosolymam non acceperunt, et contra Sclavos ire, et in ipsa expeditione, sicut statutum est, devotionis intuitu manere decreverunt, illam remissionem peccatorum quam praedecessor noster felix memoriae papa Urbanus Hierosolymam transeuntibus instituit, omnipotentis Dei et beati Petri apostolorum principis auctoritate nobis a Deo concessa concedimus...": letter of 11 April 1147: *PL*, vol. 180, cols 1203–4.

⁴¹ "Illos autem qui ad tam sanctam expeditionem crucem acceperint, et bona eorum sub beati Petri et nostra protectione manere decernimus": letter of 11 April 1147: *PL*, vol. 180, cols 1203–4.

the crusaders while on crusade; crusaders were exempted from paying usury on past loans; and restrictions on lending money were eased in order for crusaders to raise money for their journey.⁴² Such privileges were not granted to participants in the Wendish crusade.

This difference apart, the crusades against the pagans were put on an equal footing with the crusades in aid of the Holy Land. This is also reflected in the terminology of the papal letter which described such campaigns as “*tam sanctam expeditionem*”.⁴³ A further parallel is seen in the choice of the opening phrase of the bull which is identical to the opening words of the bull *Divini dispensatione* of 5 October 1146 concerning crusades in aid of the Holy Land.⁴⁴

Eugenius wished to ensure papal representation in these campaigns and appointed Cardinals Theodwin of Porto and Guido of San Chrysogono as legates of the French army and Bishops Arnulf of Lisieux, Godfrey of Langres and Alvis of Arras as their aides, while as chief legate for the Wendish crusade he appointed Bishop Anselm of Havelberg who was to be assisted by Bishop Henry of Olmütz.⁴⁵ Nicholas Breakspear, abbot of St Rufus near Avignon, may have acted as papal representative in the campaign against Tortosa.⁴⁶ Popes had employed legates to supervise the crusading armies since the First Crusade; their role was mainly to represent the pope and to advise, guide, and exhort the crusaders and their leaders, although they could not, according to canon law, participate in the fighting.⁴⁷

Eventually, the armies assembled on the three fronts. In the East, five forces were involved, those of King Louis VII of France, Count

⁴² Letter of 1 March 1146: ‘Der Text der Kreuzzugsbulle Eugens III. vom 1. März 1146, Trastevere’, pp. 302–5, the privileges are listed p. 304.

⁴³ Letter of 11 April 1147: *PL*, vol. 180, cols 1203–4.

⁴⁴ R. Rist, “The Development of the Idea of Crusade by the Papacy in the Twelfth Century” (unpublished MA thesis. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2000), p. 46.

⁴⁵ Letter of 11 April 1147: *PL*, vol. 180, cols 1203–4; undated letter of 1147: *PL*, vol. 180, col. 1262; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 98; R. Hiestand, “The papacy and the Second Crusade”, in *The Second Crusade. Scope and consequences*, ed. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 38.

⁴⁶ Constable, “The Second Crusade”, p. 262; Jaspert, “*Capta est Dertosa*”, p. 92; for Nicholas’ activities, see D. J. Smith, “The Abbot-Crusader: Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia”, in *Adrian IV. The English Pope (1154–1159): Studies and Texts*, ed. B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

⁴⁷ J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* 3rd edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 50–2.

Amadeus of Savoy, Count Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse, King Conrad III of Germany, and an Anglo-Flemish contingent. The fighting in the Iberian Peninsula took the form of four campaigns: King Alfonso VII went against Almeria, King Alfonso Henriques of Portugal went against Santarem and Lisbon, while Count Raymond Berengar IV of Barcelona went against Tortosa, which for decades had been the target for campaigns by the Barcelona counts. A Genoese contingent targeted Minorca. The front against the Slavs also counted four armies: that of Count Albert of Brandenburg, a Polish army led by the brother of the duke of Poland, and a Danish army which joined that of Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony and the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen.⁴⁸

The forces of Henry the Lion of Saxony and the Danish contingent attacked the Wendish town of Dobin. Their siege ended with a peace treaty which obliged the Wends to accept Christianity and made the Wendish prince, Niclot, a tributary of Count Adolf of Holstein.⁴⁹ Soon after the departure of the armies, however, the Wends returned to their pagan faith. The other forces involved in the crusade against the pagans did not achieve much either. The army of Albert of Brandenburg raided the lands of the pagans before part of it unsuccessfully besieged Demmin, whilst another part marched to Stettin (Szczecin) which, however, was already Christian. The crusade in the Latin East fared little better. The Germans under the leadership of King Conrad were defeated near Dorylaeum in Byzantine territory, after which many returned home; the remaining German troops joined the French army at Nicaea. The journey through Asia Minor diminished the crusading army further. There was no longer any hope of recapturing Edessa and at a council of war held in Acre on 24 June 1148 it was decided instead to try to take Damascus. In July an army under the command of Louis, Conrad and Baldwin III of Jerusalem set out for Damascus, only to be forced to retire from their siege by the Muslims. Only the crusade in Spain met with success. Lisbon was captured in October 1147 by the Portuguese,

⁴⁸ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 97; N. Jaspert, “*Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum: Tortosa and the crusades*”, in *The Second Crusade. Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 94ff.

⁴⁹ This section on the events of the Second Crusade is based on Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 98–103.

aided by an Anglo-Flemish contingent, and in the same month a joint force of Castilian, Aragonese, French, Genoese and Pisan crusaders took the town of Almeria. The following year Tortosa fell to an Aragonese, French and Genoese army, which then went on to capture three Muslim strongholds in Catalonia, Lérida, Fraga and Mequinenza.

The failure of the Second Crusade in the East and in northern Europe had a great impact on the papacy and the Christians in general. The attempt to fight the enemies of the Church on three fronts had failed spectacularly and the experience was to have a long-lasting influence on the curia's perception of future crusades. Christians, secular and clerical, struggled to explain the fiasco, and recriminations and accusations abounded. Some clerics perceived the failure to be the work of the devil; others ascribed the failure to the sinfulness of the crusaders, while yet others, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, accepted it as the will of God.⁵⁰

Irrespective of its failure, the preparation and organizing of the Second Crusade had an enduring effect on the organization of future ones. The papacy had established its authority over the campaigns, the curia had established a form for general letters calling for crusades, the idea of the indulgence had been developed further, and the idea of the crusade had been extended through its application to the wars against the pagans in northern Europe. This extension had not been initiated by Eugenius, but was the result of local pressure channelled through Bernard of Clairvaux. But once persuaded, Eugenius fully embraced the idea of a crusade against the pagan Slavs and put this crusade on an equal footing with the crusades in aid of the Holy Land.

The princes of northern Europe responded to the crusading idea, not solely for devotional reasons or because it was fitting for Christian princes to do so, but also because crusading could be used internally to strengthen kingship and to expand their spheres of interest.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See for instance Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 105–6; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 103–4; Hiestand, “The papacy and the Second Crusade”, pp. 46–7; P. W. Edbury, “Looking Back on the Second Crusade: Some Late Twelfth-Century English Perspectives”, in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), especially pp. 165–6. See also St. Bernard, *De consideratione* II:1: *PL*, vol. 182, cols 741–5.

⁵¹ See K. V. Jensen, “Denmark and the Second Crusade: the formation of a

Warfare against the pagan neighbours was not a new phenomenon, but the princes eagerly accepted the papal authorization of such campaigns and the spiritual rewards for such warfare which now with the papal extension of the crusading idea were bestowed upon them.

Eugenius III and the conversion of non-Christians

Did Pope Eugenius envision the Wendish crusade as part of a missionary campaign aimed at the pagans of northern Europe? In *Divini dispensatione* of April 1147 he stated approvingly that the crusaders in the North intended to achieve the conversion of the Slavs, but he did not elaborate on the point. Nor did he discuss the subject of conversion in the *arenga* of the letter.⁵² Rather, the main theme in the letter was the association of the campaign in the North with those planned for the East and for Spain and to present it as part of the three-front onslaught on the infidels.

This suggests that it was Bernard of Clairvaux and those German magnates who first had proposed the expedition who had defined the aim of the expedition as the conversion of the Slavs. Indeed, the conversion of the pagans is the main theme of the letter which Bernard wrote after the meeting in Frankfurt in March 1147. The *arenga* described how “the evil one” gnashes his teeth at the prospect of losing his flock to Christianity, and Bernard repeatedly mentioned the conversion of the Slavs.⁵³

So Eugenius supported the expedition aiming at the conversion of the pagan Slavs, but he did not initiate it and did apparently not define its purpose. In fact, nothing suggests that Eugenius took much interest in conversion of non-Christians. Such lack of interest in mission among non-Christians would have been in tune with traditional papal policy on this matter. It is generally accepted that the popes

crusader state?’ in *The Second Crusade. Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), *passim*.

⁵² Conversion is thus only mentioned twice in the letter: “*Quidam etiam ex vobis tam sancti laboris et præmii participes fieri cupientes, contra Sclavos ceterosque paganos habitantes versus Aquilonem ire, et eos Christiane religioni subjugare, Domino auxiliante, intendunt . . .*” . . . “*. . . de promovenda Christiana religione . . .*”: letter of 11 April 1147; *PL*, vol. 180, cols 1203–4.

⁵³ Letter of [after 13 March] 1147: *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 8, no. 457.

of the early and central Middle Ages did not initiate or plan missionary projects.⁵⁴ There were of course exceptions, most famously perhaps Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) who, having learned that the English wished to become Christians, sent a large party of missionaries to Kent. In the following years he continually supplied the English mission with books, relics and new missionaries and detailed instructions regarding the organization of the new Church and the introduction of Christian practice and discipline.⁵⁵ Six centuries later these instructions were, as we shall see, to inspire some of his successors. The papacy was also unusually active in Boniface's mission to the Germans which was supported by Pope Gregory II (715–31) and his successors, and Pope Nicholas I (858–67) sent a group of missionaries to Khan Boris of the Bulgars who a few years earlier had declared his interest in accepting Christianity.⁵⁶

These exceptions apart, missionary undertakings of the early and central Middle Ages were initiated, organized, and financed without papal involvement. In the seventh century, this was left to Irish *peregrini*, continental monks and local bishops supported by the Merovingian rulers, none of whom sought papal assistance. In the following century Anglo-Saxon monks, such as Willibrord who worked in Frisia, took up the conversion of their Germanic relations on the continent. Some of these obtained papal support, but most turned to the Carolingian kings who from the middle of the eight century increas-

⁵⁴ R. E. Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages", *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955), pp. 103–6; T. F. X. Noble, "The papacy in the eighth and ninth centuries", in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume II: c. 700–c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 582–3; R. McKitterick, "The Church", in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume III: c. 900–1024*, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 142 and pp. 149–50.

⁵⁵ I. Wood, "The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English", *Speculum* 69 (1994), p. 2, p. 5 and pp. 9–10; Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity", pp. 52–8; I. N. Wood, "Some Historical Re-identifications and the Christianization of Kent", in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals [International Medieval Research 7]*, ed. G. Armstrong and I. N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 34–5. See also R. Meens, "A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England", *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994), pp. 5–17.

⁵⁶ Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity", pp. 72–80 and pp. 91–6; Wood, *The missionary life*, pp. 178–9; W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen and Co, 1972), p. 54, pp. 66–7, and pp. 124–5; J. Shepard, "Slavs and Bulgars", in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume II: c. 700–c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 241.

ingly took control over the north-bound and east-bound expansion of Latin Christendom, reducing the role of Rome. From the tenth century onwards, the missionary initiative lay with the bishops, archbishops and princes living near the periphery of Latin Christendom. Secular rulers set up bishoprics and archbishoprics such as Magdeburg which were given responsibility for mission among their pagan neighbours.⁵⁷

The popes were, of course, involved in the ecclesiastical organization of the lands which were won for Latin Christendom through such endeavours. As new territories were converted and subjugated, bishops and princes involved in the mission submitted requests to Rome to have the land added to the jurisdiction of their local Churches and to be allowed to create suffragan sees. The curia usually granted its permission and thereby added not only to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but also to the missionary zeal of local archbishops and secular rulers. The lack of information about the geography of these faraway places did, however, occasionally lead to some confusion in Rome, as will also be seen in the case of the organization of the new Church in the Baltic region.

While the limited papal role in mission partly was a matter of tradition, it also reflected the generally weak position of the papacy in the period prior to the ascendancy of the papacy which began in the late eleventh century. Often deficient in resources and dependent on assistance and recognition from the secular rulers of Latin Christendom, the papacy was forced to take a reactive, rather than an initiating and intervening, position. By not taking a leading role, or indeed much interest, in mission Eugenius's line was in accordance with his predecessors' policy.

Bernard of Clairvaux and mission among dissidents and non-Christians

Given his active involvement in and concern for the affairs of western Christendom and the Church's relations to dissidents and non-Christians, it is not surprising that Bernard of Clairvaux became involved in the drive to convert the pagan Slavs.

⁵⁷ See for instance P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity"; Wood, *The missionary life*, and the articles in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals [International Medieval Research 7]*, ed. G. Armstrong and I. N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

The Cistercian Order—which Bernard had joined in 1113—came out of the reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Those years, particularly the period between 1040 and 1160, saw great changes in religious life, attitudes and institutions. Gradually the focus of the reforming ideas changed from the moral reform of the clergy and the independency of the Church from lay control to reform of religious life and the individual Christian, and from the end of the eleventh century the idea of the *vita apostolica* received new emphasis as an ideal for individual religious perfection. Returning to the example of the Early Church, it emphasised the imitation of Christ and his apostles, stressing voluntary poverty, communal life, and evangelizing through preaching and giving witness of one’s own spiritual experience.⁵⁸ The search for personal perfection led to changes in lay piety and eventually to the formation of popular religious movements. It also led to reforms of monastic life. Among the new monastic communities was that set up in 1098 at Cîteaux by Robert of Molesme (c. 1027–1110) which grew into the Cistercian Order. It aimed to create an ideal monastic community, living a secluded contemplative life in poverty, simplicity and evangelical imitation of Christ.⁵⁹ From the 1120s, however, members of the Order accepted election as bishops, cardinals and, in the case of Eugenius III, pope in order to further the Order’s programme of reforming the Church.⁶⁰

Bernard wished to put his Order’s resources to use on an even wider scale. Offering his viewpoint in the long-running debate about the relative superiority of the active or contemplative life, he held up a mixed life of action and contemplation as the ideal for monastic existence. He suggested that action should precede contemplation because an active life of preaching and rendering other kinds of service to the Church would prepare a monk for contemplation, even if the fullness of contemplation only would come in the life

⁵⁸ G. Constable, *The reformation of the twelfth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 4–5.

⁵⁹ For Bernard of Clairvaux’s ideas about the imitation of Christ, see G. Constable, *Three studies in medieval religious and social thought. The interpretation of Mary and Martha—The ideal of the imitation of Christ—The orders of society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 188ff.

⁶⁰ B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229. Preaching in the Lord’s Vineyard* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), p. 29.

after death.⁶¹ He argued that he and his brethren occasionally should leave the secluded life of the abbey to work in the world for the welfare of Christendom, sometimes using the well-known images of Rachel and Leah (Genesis 29) and Mary and Martha (Luke 10; John 11) to demonstrate his point.⁶² The two pairs of sisters had been used to illustrate the dilemma of the contemplative versus the active life since Origen (*c.* 185–*c.* 254), with varying interpretations over the centuries.⁶³ The idea—and its illustration through these images—held great significance for Bernard and his Order. Monks were particularly compelled to leave the contemplative life for an active involvement in the world when the Church was under threat, for instance from dissident groups like those which existed in France and the Rhineland in the 1140s and which greatly worried Bernard. Bernard wrote extensively on this subject and it is clear from his letters and sermons that he believed that dissidents should be dissuaded from their erroneous beliefs through arguments and preaching, not by force.⁶⁴

In accordance with his ideal of putting the Cistercian resources to use in the service of the Church and in accordance with his solution to the problem of heresy, Bernard became actively involved in the effort to convert the dissidents. He preached against heresy in southern France, probably in July 1145, in a campaign directed against Henry of Lausanne who had been condemned at the Council of Pisa in 1135.⁶⁵ As seen above, he also accepted Pope Eugenius's commission to preach the Second Crusade and spent much of 1146 and 1147 doing so in France, the Lowlands and Germany.⁶⁶ Many other Cistercians accepted papal commissions, and throughout the twelfth century the papacy employed Cistercians as preachers against

⁶¹ G. Constable, *Three studies*, pp. 66 and 79.

⁶² Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, p. 8.

⁶³ See Constable, *Three studies*, pp. 3–141, especially p. 15.

⁶⁴ Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, pp. 85–6, p. 90 and pp. 105–8. However, Kienzle here also points out that Bernard left some ambiguity about the use of violence: in one of his sermons he stated that restraint by the sword was better than further dissemination of the heretic beliefs, and he thereby opened up the possibility for the use of force by secular powers. This would not have been against canon law because armed intervention by secular powers against heretics had long been regarded as legitimate, as already pointed out.

⁶⁵ Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, pp. 91–3; R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), pp. 90–3.

⁶⁶ Constable, "The Second Crusade", pp. 244–5.

heretics, crusade propagandists, legates, mediators and negotiators.⁶⁷ While members of other orders also embraced the active life in order to serve the Church, the Cistercians held a unique position because of their close alliance with the papacy. Cooperation and communication between the curia and the Order was, as it has often been remarked, facilitated by the Order's efficient and centralized system of government which was reinforced by annual general chapters.⁶⁸

Bernard's concern for the affairs of Christendom also led him to take an interest in conversion of non-Christians. In *De consideratione*, the work he composed as advice to Pope Eugenius, he exhorted the pope to become engaged in peaceful mission not only among heretics and schematics, but also among non-Christians. Reminding the pope of Paul's words to the Romans (10:14), the abbot wrote:

Can we confidently and in good conscience refrain from offering Christ to those who do not know him? Do we unrightfully hold back the truth of God? Surely the fullness of the gentiles must come some day. Do we expect the faith to come upon them by chance? Who came to believe by accident? How shall they believe without preachers? Peter was sent to Cornelius, Philip to the Eunuch, and—if we look for a more recent example—Augustine was sent by the Blessed Gregory to give the faith to the English.⁶⁹

De consideratione was written in the latter part of Eugenius's pontificate, between 1148 and 1152 or 1153,⁷⁰ and the fact that Bernard at that

⁶⁷ L. Schmutge, "Zisterzienser, Kreuzzuf und Heidenkrieg", in *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1980), p. 58.

⁶⁸ Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, p. 7; Schmutge, "Zisterzienser, Kreuzzuf und Heidenkrieg", p. 67; C. T. Maier, *Preaching the crusades. Mendicant friars and the cross in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 4.

⁶⁹ "Qua fiducia, qua conscientia Christum non vel offerimus eis qui non habent? An veritatem Dei in injustitia detinemus? Et quidem quandoque perveniat gentium plenitudo necesse est. Exspectamus ut in eas incidat fides? Cui credere casu contigit? Quomodo credent sine predicante? Petrus ad Cornelium, Philippus ad eunuchum missi sunt, et, si exemplum recentius queremus, Augustinus a beato Gregorio destinatus, formam fidei tradidit Anglis": *De Consideratione* III:1:4: *PL*, vol. 182, col. 760. See also P. Dérumaux, "Saint Bernard et les Infidèles", in *Mélanges Saint Bernard. XXIV^e Congrès de l'Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes* (Dijon: Marilier, 1953), pp. 68–79. Bernard used this quotation from Paul again in his *Tractatus* where he wrote: "Et quomodo, inquit, credent in eum quem non audierunt? Quomodo vero audient sine predicante? Quomodo autem predicabunt sine mittantur?": *PL*, vol. 182, col. 132; K. Guth, "The Pomeranian Missionary Journeys of Otto I of Bamberg and the Crusade Movement of the Eleventh to Twelfth Centuries", in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p. 18.

⁷⁰ G. Binding, "28. B. v. Clairvaux", in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. N. Angermann et al., 10 vols (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1977–99), vol. 1, cols 1992–8.

point found it necessary to urge his former pupil to take up mission gives further credence to the suggestion that Eugenius had not shown great concern for expanding the Christian faith during his pontificate.

The Christian princes and the conquest and conversion of the Slavs after the Second Crusade

After the Second Crusade the princes of northern Germany and Scandinavia continued their expeditions against the neighbouring pagans. Their campaigns aimed at extending their territorial and political power through the creation of new systems of overlordship as well as at the conversion of the pagans.⁷¹ The German and Scandinavian princes do not appear to have attempted to receive papal authorization of their campaigns or to have sought an indulgence for the participants. No papal letters authorizing such campaigns have survived and later papal letters and chronicles do not mention any such correspondence before the pontificate of Innocent III.

The Danish expeditions are a case in point. From the late 1150s and throughout the 1160s and 1170s the Danish King Valdemar I embarked on several campaigns.⁷² The main target for these expeditions was the island of Rügen which was attacked repeatedly, but unsuccessfully. Some of these campaigns were carried out with the support of the forces of Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony, and the two agreed on a division of the taxes received from the conquered lands.⁷³ The Saxon campaigns of the 1160s resulted in the subjugation of the Slav princes Pribislaw and Wartislaw to Duke Henry,⁷⁴ but the Danes had very little to show for their efforts. Finally, in 1168 or 1169 a new Danish campaign met with success: the islanders of Rügen surrendered and King Valdemar ordered that they be christianized. On royal orders and with cooperation from the Danish bishops who participated in the campaign the pagan temple of Arkona was destroyed and twelve churches were constructed. The new

⁷¹ See for instance the overview provided by Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", pp. 294–303.

⁷² Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave*, pp. 151–4, pp. 184–6, and p. 221.

⁷³ Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum* II:102, p. 356.

⁷⁴ Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", p. 298.

churches were endowed with goods confiscated from the temple and Danish priests were sent to the island.⁷⁵ Henry now demanded part of the yearly tribute and spoils from Rügen, in accordance with their agreement, but Valdemar refused his claims. The issue was settled in 1171 when Valdemar agreed to a division of the booty, but the island remained under Danish overlordship.⁷⁶ After the conquest of Rügen, Valdemar directed his expansionary campaigns against Pomerania which were targeted by campaigns in the early 1170s.⁷⁷

Valdemar does not appear to have tried to secure papal support for his campaigns prior to departure. In the early 1160s this may be explained by the papal schism after 1159, in which Valdemar had sided with the German emperor and had supported the antipope Victor IV (1159–64) while the Danish archbishop, Eskil, had supported Alexander III; this situation forced Eskil into exile in 1161.⁷⁸ The conflict was resolved in the middle of the 1160s when Valdemar approached Alexander, leading to the return of Eskil towards the end of 1167.⁷⁹ But even after his reconciliation with Alexander and Eskil the Danish king does not appear to have asked the pope to sanction his expeditions against the pagans. This was not due to a lack of contact between Denmark and Rome. It was now clearly important to Valdemar to obtain papal favour and to show his recognition of Alexander's authority: in 1169, after finally having conquered Rügen, he informed Alexander of his conquest and successfully requested that the island should be subjected to the Danish see of

⁷⁵ Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum* II:108, p. 372; Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave*, pp. 153–4; I. Skovgaard-Petersen, A. E. Christensen and H. Paludan, *Danmarks historie. Vol. I: Tiden indtil 1340* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1977), pp. 334–5; Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, p. 441.

⁷⁶ Letter of 4 November [1169]: *DD*, vol. 1:2, no. 189; Skovgaard-Petersen, Christensen and Paludan, *Danmarks historie*, p. 335.

⁷⁷ Valdemar undertook an expedition to Pomerania shortly after the canonization of Knud in June 1170 and an expedition to Stettin in 1173 (T. Nyberg, "Kreuzzug und Handel in der Ostsee zur dänischen Zeit Lübecks", in *Lübeck 1226. Reichsfreiheit und frühe Stadt*, ed. O. Ahlers et al. (Lübeck: Hansisches Verlagskontor H. Scheffler, 1976), pp. 175–7; see also Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave*, pp. 213ff.)

⁷⁸ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 192–5; Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave*, pp. 166–9. Also other key players in the expansion—Count Albert the Bear, Duke Henry the Lion, and Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg—sided with the emperor and the anti-pope against Pope Alexander, but I have found no evidence among the existent sources to suggest that they approached the curia for authorizations of their campaigns before or after the schism.

⁷⁹ Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave*, pp. 180–1.

Roskilde.⁸⁰ Yet another indication of Valdemar's wish to improve his relations with Alexander is seen in his successful request for papal approval of the canonization of his father, Knud Lavard.⁸¹ The canonization of new saints was at the end of the twelfth century not yet an exclusive papal right,⁸² but Valdemar chose to apply for this, probably to appease Alexander and the Danish archbishop.

Why was there no attempt to get papal sanction of the expeditions against the pagans, and how did the Danes perceive their campaigns? The Danes knew, of course, of the crusades in aid of the Holy Land. It cannot be argued with any certainty that narrative accounts of crusading reached Denmark, but the Danish prince Svend's participation in the First Crusade and the Danish links to the counts of Flanders, who had played an important role in the First Crusade, make it likely that the royal family and the higher echelons of Danish society took an interest in such accounts. The Danish King Knud (1080–6) had married Edele, a daughter of Count Robert of Flanders. After Knud's murder in 1086, she returned to Flanders with their son, Charles (later known as Charles the Good). Charles continued the crusading tradition when he in his youth went to the East on crusade, an event recorded in two twelfth-century accounts of his life, by Galbert of Bruges and Walter of Therouanne.⁸³ Towards the end of the twelfth century the accounts of the First Crusade were certainly known in Scandinavia, as suggested by the *Historia de profectioe Danorum in Hierosolymam*. This work was composed in the late 1190s, probably by a canon at the Premonstratensian monastery at Tønsberg in Norway who had close links to Denmark. It shows a detailed knowledge of the themes employed in contemporary accounts of the First Crusade, including Robert of Rheims' *Historia Iherosolimitana* (written before 1118), Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Ierosolimitana* (written c. 1110), Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei*

⁸⁰ Letter of 4 November [1169]: *DD*, vol. 1:2, no. 189.

⁸¹ Letter of 8 November [1169]: *DD*, vol. 1:2, no. 190.

⁸² E. W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 79 and pp. 82–106.

⁸³ See J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 95–6; Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave*, p. 61; Galbert of Bruges, *De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli, comitis Flandriarum*, ed. J. Rider, [*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis CXXXI*] (Turnhout, 1994), Ch. 12, p. 31; Walter of Therouanne, 'Vita Karoli comitis Flandriae', ed. R. Koepke, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores XII* (Hannover 1856), Ch. 4, pp. 540–1.

per Francos (written c. 1104–8), Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana* (written between 1100 and 1127), and Albert of Aix's *Historia Hierosolymitana* (written before 1120), although the author did not copy directly from any of these.⁸⁴

The Danes participated, as mentioned above, in the Second Crusade. The Danish chronicler Saxo, writing around 1200, described Pope Eugenius's call for a crusade against the pagan Slavs and the Danish response:

At the same time the pope had realized that the flood of paganism was about to overrun the Church, and he therefore sent out letters to all of Europe calling upon the faithful to fight against all enemies of the faith. Each province of the Church was ordered to fight the pagans living closest to them. The Danes did not wish to disregard their duties to the Church because of their own warfare, and thus they took upon them the sign of the holy pilgrimage and fulfilled their duty.⁸⁵

The events surrounding the Second Crusade may have convinced King Valdemar that also his campaigns against his pagan neighbours would be regarded by the papacy as warfare against the enemies of the Church and hence as the service to the Church. He was clearly proud of his achievements in these expeditions of the 1160s and 1170s and wished to gain recognition for them, a wish possibly influenced by an awareness of the crusades to the East and of the prestige attached to participation in warfare in the service of the Church. He may have believed that his expeditions would bolster his domestic and international reputation. The desire for acknowl-

⁸⁴ K. Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey to the Promised Land. Crusading Theology in the Historia de profectioe Danorum in Hierosolymam (c. 1200)* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2001), pp. 8–9, p. 73 and passim.

⁸⁵ Saxo, *Gesta Danorum*, XIV:3:5, vol. 2, p. 160. Saxo's description may have been one of the influences for the later *Knytlinga Saga*, composed in the second half of the thirteenth century (*Knytlinga Saga. The History of the Kings of Denmark*, transl. H. Pálsson and P. Edwards (Odense, 1986), Chapter 108, p. 147). The only known representation in the admittedly very scarce source material of Danes fighting the pagans as crusaders is in *Liber daticus Lundensis vetustior*, which has an entry stating that "Asmundus et Godmundus, illustres laici, apud Slavos sub signo sancte crucis occisi sunt" (*Libri memoriales capituli Lundensis. Lunde Domkapitels Gavebøger*, ed. C. Weeke (Copenhagen, 1884–9), sub II. Non. Augusti (4 August), p. 195). The editor of this manuscript has, however, estimated that the handwriting of this entry must be dated to the second third of the twelfth century and it therefore probably relates to the Second Crusade. It is, of course, possible that this estimate was influenced by his knowledge of the Second Crusade; however, had the handwriting been dramatically different from that of the scribes of that period, it would presumably have been noted.

edgement of his achievements is evident in his report to Alexander about his conquest of Rügen—this letter is lost, but it appears from the papal reply that he had presented the campaign against Rügen as necessitated by the apostasy of the Rugians and as a defence against their attacks.⁸⁶ It is also clear from his sepulchral monument. It described Valdemar as “king of the Danes, conqueror and lord of the Slavs” and declared that he “conquered the Rugians and converted them to the Christian faith”.⁸⁷ Also Saxo presented the Danish campaigns as service to the Church: when he introduced into his narrative the character of Absalon, bishop of Roskilde (1158–92, also archbishop from 1177) and a participant in the royal Danish campaigns, he stated that Absalon saw the fight against the enemies of the Church and the defence of the Church as an important part of his service to the Church.⁸⁸

The Danes do not, however, appear to have done much to present their expeditions as crusades similar to those undertaken in aid of the Holy Land. Valdemar’s sepulchral monument evidently does not attempt to present him as a crusader on a par with crusaders fighting for Jerusalem or to associate his campaigns with the prestigious crusades to the East. Likewise, Saxo had emphasised that the campaign undertaken in 1147 was in response to a papal call in defence of the Church and that Danes who responded to this call took the cross. But when he described the later Danish campaigns against the Wends—which he did in great detail⁸⁹—he did not present these as being directly related to papal policies or participants as having taken the cross.

Despite apparently regarding their campaigns against their pagans as warfare in the service of the Church, the Danes do not seem to

⁸⁶ Letter of 4 November [1169]: *DD* 1:2, no. 189.

⁸⁷ “*Hic iacet Danorum rex Waldemarus, primus Sclauorum expugnator et dominator, patrie liberator, pacis conseruator. Qui filius sancti Kanuti Rugianos expugnauit et ad fidem Christi primus conuertit*”: ‘Sepulchralia’, ed. M. C. Gertz, in *Scriptores Minores Historiae Danicae Medii Aevi*, ed. M. C. Gertz, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 1970), vol. 2, p. 87.

⁸⁸ Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XIV:21:3, vol. 2, p. 244.

⁸⁹ See for instance Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XIV:20–XIV:25, vol. 2, pp. 242–88, and XIV:30–XIV:51, vol. 2, pp. 322–432. Valdemar issued coins which on the front depicted a king with a branch and on the reverse had the ducal banner of St Knud with a cross (Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave*, p. 151). The branch has been interpreted by Kurt Villads Jensen (“Denmark and the Second Crusade”, p. 170) as the palm leaf of a Jerusalem pilgrim and hence as an intended reference to Valdemar as a crusader, but this cannot be established with any certainty.

have attempted to obtain papal authorization of them. It is possible that Valdemar simply did not contemplate this possibility, but viewed his expeditions as a continuation of the campaigns undertaken by his predecessors. He may therefore have regarded them as a royal and local matter in which there was no need to involve Rome before departure. It may also be that Valdemar, and other local princes, lacked the experience or capacity to lobby the curia on matters other than traditional ecclesiastical affairs.

Irrespective of the reasons for this restraint, the German and Scandinavian princes appear to have continued the pattern established in the previous centuries for organizing and conducting their campaigns on their own initiative, making no attempts to obtain prior papal authorization or to have them formally associated or equated with the crusades in aid of Jerusalem or seeking spiritual and temporal privileges for them. Their campaigns to conquer and convert the pagans in the western Baltic region were undertaken for political as much as religious reasons. They cooperated with the leaders of the local Churches, not with the papal curia. Apart from matters concerning ecclesiastical appointments, they only appear to have approached the curia for approval of the changes in the ecclesiastical organization brought about by the advances of Latin Christendom and of the new religious houses which soon were founded in the newly christianized lands.⁹⁰

Reform and the conquest and conversion of the Slavs east of the Elbe

The pagans of the Baltic region were generally either forced to take the Christian faith as a result of conquest by neighbouring Christian powers or because their pagan ruler had accepted the Christian faith and subsequently demanded that his subjects followed suit. But, as first demonstrated by Wilhelm Berges, some of those who in the twelfth century became involved in the conversion of the pagan Slavs

⁹⁰ See for instance letter of [1173 × 1180] concerning the see at Cammin: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, 2nd edition, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1885–8), vol. II, no. 13061, and in *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Wigger et al., 25 vols (Schwerin, 1864–1936), vol. 1, no. 124; letter concerning Kolbatz: *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, ed. K. Conrad et al., 2nd edition, in progress (Cologne, 1970ff.), vol. 1, no. 65; letter of 1179 concerning Gramzow: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, vol. II, no. 13301, and *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, no. 79; Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, p. 74, p. 350 with note 31 and p. 363 with note 118.

were influenced by the reform ideas of the previous century and wished to work for the conversion of the pagans through peaceful methods. Among them was Norbert of Xanten.⁹¹

Norbert (born *c.* 1085) was influenced by the canonical reform movement which had begun in the eleventh century when some communities of canons had tried to simplify or purify themselves in tune with the papal reforms and the emerging ideal of the *vita apostolica*.⁹² After having travelled as a wandering preacher in Flanders and France Norbert founded a house of regular canons at Prémontré near Laon in Picardy, the Premonstratensians. He became part of the missionary push on the north-eastern frontier of Christendom when in 1126 he accepted office as archbishop of Magdeburg. Despite fierce opposition against his reforms he held this until his death in 1134. He worked for the conversion of the pagans living near his see, focusing, unsuccessfully, on the Wends of the Havel valley, and turned the (now Premonstratensian) house of Unser Lieben Frauen in Magdeburg into a missionary centre which was to influence some of those who later took up conversion and pastoral care in the region.⁹³

Norbert himself inspired several important players in the region. One was Anselm of Havelberg (*c.* 1099–1158) who was bishop of Havelberg 1128–55 and, as mentioned above, papal legate on the Wendish crusade.⁹⁴ Another was Vicelin (*c.* 1090–1154) who had

⁹¹ W. Berges, "Reform und Ostmission im 12. Jahrhundert", *Wichmann Jahrbuch* 9/10 (1955–56). Reprinted in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters* [*Wege der Forschung* 7], ed. H. Beumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963); Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, p. 52. Another prominent example was Otto of Bamberg (Berges, *op. cit.* and E. Demm, *Reformmönchtum und Slavenmission im 12. Jahrhundert. Wertsoziologisch-geistesgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Viten Bischof Ottos von Bamberg* [*Historische Studien* 419] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag, 1970)).

⁹² Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 74–8, pp. 247–50 and p. 288; K. Bosl, *Regularkanoniker (Augustinerchorherren) und Seelsorge in Kirche und Gesellschaft des europäischen 12. Jahrhunderts* [*Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen Neue Folge* 86] (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), especially pp. 23ff.

⁹³ Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", p. 281; Berges, "Reform und Ostmission im 12. Jahrhundert", pp. 38–40 (reprint pp. 327–9); Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, p. 184; Constable, *The reformation of the twelfth century*, p. 108 and p. 258.

⁹⁴ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 385; Berges, "Reform und Ostmission im 12. Jahrhundert", pp. 41–4 (reprint pp. 331–4); J. W. Braun, "2. A. von Havelberg", in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. N. Angermann et al., 10 vols (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1977–99), vol. 1, cols 678–9. In a letter of 1151 Anselm described how he and his

served as *scholasticus* in Bremen for a few years before going to France around 1122. He stayed for some time in Laon, where he encountered Norbert's ideas, and in 1126 he travelled to Magdeburg where Norbert ordained him priest. He did not, however, join the Premonstratensians, nor did he become involved in Norbert's missionary projects. Instead he returned to Bremen where the archbishop commissioned him to preach the gospel among the Abodrites in Old Lübeck. Together with the local Christian rulers Vicelin founded convents of regular canons at Neumünster and at Segeberg, in the borderlands between pagans and Christians. Neumünster provided pastoral care to the nearby Holsatians, who were only nominally Christian, and Vicelin himself preached among the Holsatians and Slavs. When in 1149 Archbishop Hartwig I of Hamburg-Bremen (1148–68) resurrected the Oldenburg see, he appointed Vicelin as its bishop, an office he held to his death.⁹⁵ His work was, however, initially hindered by Duke Henry the Lion. When appointing Vicelin bishop of Oldenburg, Hartwig had ignored Henry's claims to invest the bishop there, and the ensuing dispute between the two in effect paralysed the missionary work in the diocese for most of the 1150s, also because Henry refused to give the sees the necessary financial support. This stalemate ended in 1154 when Emperor Frederick I delegated the royal right of investiture to Henry.⁹⁶ Vicelin's successor, Gerold, bishop of Oldenburg 1155–63, continued his work.

fellow brethren were influenced by the ideas of the apostolic life: "*In presepio meo Havelberch pauper Christi cum fratribus meis pauperibus Christi maneo; ubi alii nostrum turrin fortitudinis aedificant a facie inimici, alii sunt in excubiis ad defendendum contra insultus paganorum, alii divinis obsequiis mancipati cottidie martyrium expectant, alii animas suas Deo reddendas ieiuniis et orationibus purificant, alii lectionibus vacantes et sanctis meditationibus insistentes et sanctorum vitam et exempla imitantes se ipsos exercitant; et omnes nudi ac pauperes nudum et pauperem Christum, quantum possumus, sequimur*": Berges, "Reform und Ostmission im 12. Jahrhundert", pp. 35–6 (reprint p. 323).

⁹⁵ K. Elm, "Christi cultores et novella ecclesie plantatores. Der Anteil der Mönche, Kanoniker und Mendikanten an der Christianisierung der Liven und dem Aufbau der Kirche von Livland", in *Gli inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Storia Ecclesiastica in Occasione dell'VIII Centenario della Chiesa in Livonia* [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche. Atti e Documenti I] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1989), pp. 150–3; Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", pp. 281–2 and pp. 294–5; E. Bünz, "Vicelin", in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. N. Angermann et al., 10 vols (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1977–99), vol. 8, cols 1622–3.

⁹⁶ Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", pp. 294–6; K. Jordan, *Die Bistumsgründungen Heinrichs des Löwen. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation* [Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere Geschichtskunde (Monumenta Germaniae historica) 3] (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1939), pp. 81–91.

According to Helmold of Bosau Gerold himself worked to convert the Slavs through preaching and argument, but he defended the more violent methods employed by the Christian lords.⁹⁷

The Cistercians were also active in the conversion of the Slavs east of the Elbe. After the death of Bernard of Clairvaux and the failure of the Second Crusade, there was increasing concern within the Order at its involvement in worldly affairs, and some argued that its members should resist the curia's wish to employ them in the service of the Church.⁹⁸ However, many Cistercians continued to accept papal commissions. Others chose to engage in the active life by becoming involved in mission. Berno (d. 1190 or 1191), a Cistercian from the abbey of Amelungsborn in Lower Saxony, took up preaching among the pagans of Mecklenburg after obtaining permission from Pope Adrian IV (1154–9). Berno cooperated closely with the region's secular powers. Around 1155 Henry the Lion made him bishop of Mecklenburg, and a few years later he became bishop of Schwerin when Henry moved the see there.⁹⁹ Berno is also reported to have taken part in Valdemar's campaign to conquer and convert the island of Rügen in the late 1160s, thereby showing his acceptance of the methods of conversion employed during that campaign.¹⁰⁰

Supported by the secular lords, the new orders of the twelfth century established several houses in the region. Berno was involved in the foundation of two Cistercian abbeys, Doberan founded 1171 in Mecklenburg by Pribislaw, now prince of Mecklenburg and Duke

⁹⁷ Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, II:80 and II:84, p. 272 and pp. 288–92; Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", pp. 295–6; Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, p. 309. Around 1160 Duke Henry moved the Oldenburg see to Lübeck.

⁹⁸ Constable, *The reformation of the twelfth century*, p. 33; B. Jähnig, "Zisterzienser und Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht in Livland und Preussen zu Beginn der Missionszeit", in *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht im Mittelalter* [*Ordines Militares—Colloquia Torunensia Historica V*], ed. Z. H. Nowak (Toruń: Universitas Nicolai Copernici, 1990), pp. 72–3.

⁹⁹ Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", pp. 297–8; W. Schich, "Zum Wirken der Zisterzienser im östlichen Mitteleuropa im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert", in *Zisterziensische Spiritualität. Theologische Grundlagen, funktionale Voraussetzungen und bildhafte Ausprägungen im Mittelalter* [*Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 34], ed. C. Kaspar and K. Schreiner (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1994), pp. 275–6; J. Petersohn, "Berno", in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. N. Angermann et al., 10 vols (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1977–99), vol. 1, cols 2006–7.

¹⁰⁰ Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, II:108, p. 372; Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, p. 441; Skovgaard-Petersen, Christensen and Paludan, *Danmarks historie*, pp. 334–5.

Henry's vassal, and Dargun in Pomerania which was founded in 1172 with support from the Danish king.¹⁰¹ These Cistercian and Premonstratensian abbeys became centres for the immigrant Christian settlers who had followed the invitations of the Christian rulers to move eastwards.¹⁰² They do not all appear to have engaged directly in the conversion work,¹⁰³ but they helped maintain the missionary zeal, as in Segeberg where, as we shall see, the life of Bishop Vicelin could have influenced future missionaries.

The reforming spirit which filled some of the ecclesiastical leaders participating in the mission east of the Elbe did not only lead to the re-organization of existing religious communities and to the foundation of new religious houses, but may also have improved the instruction and pastoral care received by the newly converted communities. But although there was an increased awareness of the importance of preaching and instruction before baptism, and although some missionaries worked according to these ideals, there was by no means a complete change in missionary strategy. The ecclesiastical leaders cooperated with the local Christian princes—indeed the efficient execution of their office necessitated secular support—and sometimes even justified their methods. The missionary work was localized affairs and—with a few exceptions such as Berno who had applied to the pope for permission to undertake mission before setting out—the ecclesiastical leaders do not appear to have applied to the papal curia for authorization for their new projects.

*Mission and crusade in the Baltic region during the pontificate
of Alexander III (1159–81)*

In the early 1170s, however, the Danish Church sought papal support to strengthen its backing for a newly planned missionary cam-

¹⁰¹ Apart from Doberan and Dargun the Cistercians founded an abbey in Pomerania (Kolbatz 1173) and one in Mark Brandenburg (Lehning 1180); the Premonstratensians founded convents in Grobe and in Belbuk: Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", p. 300; Schich, "Zum Wirken der Zisterzienser im östlichen Mitteleuropa", p. 278; Petersohn, "Berno", cols 2006–7.

¹⁰² For the colonization, see for instance R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 900–1350* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), Chapter 7 and *passim*.

¹⁰³ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 266–7.

paign in the easternmost part of Baltic region through papal authorization and privileges. The Danish archbishop and other bishops often participated in the royal expeditions against the pagans, but the Danish Church also undertook other projects aimed at the conversion of the pagans in the Baltic region, demonstrating the eagerness of its leaders to spread Christianity there. Archbishop Eskil had begun his exile in 1161 with a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but he spent most of his time in France, mainly in Paris and Rheims, although in 1164 he also visited Sens where he met Pope Alexander III.¹⁰⁴ He had previously formed a strong friendship with Peter of Celle,¹⁰⁵ abbot of Montier-la-Celle and later of St-Rémi in Rheims, and when during his exile he took refuge with Peter in Rheims, they planned a mission among the pagan Estonians. The missionary was to be a monk called Fulco who had been brought up in Montier-la-Celle and now was consecrated as bishop of the Estonians by Eskil.¹⁰⁶ Eskil's interest in mission may have been inspired by the ideas of Bernard of Clairvaux who, as mentioned above, in *De consideratione* had criticized the lack of missionary efforts.¹⁰⁷ Eskil was influenced by Bernard throughout his life. He introduced the Cistercian order in Denmark and Sweden in the 1140s and he decided to retire to Clairvaux in 1177. He had met Bernard during a visit to Clairvaux in the early 1150s and could have visited the abbey again in the 1160s during his exile.¹⁰⁸

Eskil and Peter were the central figures behind the new missionary plans.¹⁰⁹ Fulco's undertaking was to be financed by Eskil and

¹⁰⁴ Letter of [5 August 1164]: *DD*, vol. 1:2, no. 153; letter of [1164]: *DD*, vol. 1:2, no. 157. For the reasons for his exile, see p. 44 above.

¹⁰⁵ See letter of [1160 × 1162]: *DD*, vol. 1:2, no. 142; letters of [1162 × 1176]: *DD*, vol. 1:2, nos 149–50; letter of [1177 × 1180]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 73. For Peter of Celle's relations to Eskil, Pope Alexander III, Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercians, see H. Feiss, "Introduction", in *Peter of Celle. Selected Works*, ed. H. Feiss (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), pp. 1–17. See also J. Leclercq, *La spiritualité de Pierre de Celle (1115–1183)* (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1946), pp. 10–11.

¹⁰⁶ Letter of [1171 × 1172 before September]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 21; letter of [1172 × 1174]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 34.

¹⁰⁷ St Bernard, *De consideratione* III:1: *PL*, vol. 182, cols 757–60.

¹⁰⁸ A. E. Christensen, "Eskil", in *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, ed. S. C. Bech, 3rd edition, 16 vols (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1979–84), vol. 4, pp. 256–9; I. Andersson, "Uppsala ärkestifts tillkomst. Till 800-årsjubileet av ärkebiskop Stefans invigning", *Historisk tidskrift* II:27 (1964), p. 396.

¹⁰⁹ See also *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), p. 719.

what donations he could collect within his province.¹¹⁰ The Danish king had hitherto directed his expansionary and missionary efforts towards the lands immediately south and south-east of his realm, and continued to do so in the following decade.¹¹¹ Eskil's project, in contrast, was targeting the peoples further east, the Estonians in the easternmost part of the Baltic region. This is likely to have been inspired by his involvement with the Swedish Church which was at this time becoming increasingly engaged in missions in that part of the Baltic region, in Finland.¹¹² When Eskil had been elected archbishop of Lund in 1137, his see had encompassed not only the Danish realm, but also those of Norway and Sweden. Sweden was granted its own metropolitan see in 1164, but Eskil's relations to the Swedish Church remained strong, as he continued to be *primas Suecie*. He maintained contact to the Swedish Church even while in exile: he personally gave the new Swedish archbishop, the Cistercian Stephen, the *pallium* in Sens in the late summer of 1164.¹¹³

Eskil and Peter appealed to Pope Alexander to support the mission in the eastern Baltic. This course of action may have been taken because the plans were hatched while Eskil was in exile and would not receive assistance from the Danish king. After his return in 1167 there was a period of cooperation between the two,¹¹⁴ but Eskil may not have felt convinced that Valdemar would provide sufficient backing or he could simply have wished to secure the broadest possible assistance. Furthermore, in *De consideratione* Bernard had written of the pope's duty in the matter of the conversion of pagans.¹¹⁵ Eventually,

¹¹⁰ Letter of [1172 × 1174]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 34; letter of [1171 × 1172, 17 September]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 28.

¹¹¹ A Danish expedition against the Estonians was planned in 1184, but it had the character of a raid, not support for the Danish Church's mission there (Johansen, *Nordische Mission*, p. 93; Nyberg, "Kreuzzug und Handel in der Ostsee", pp. 178–9; S. M. Szacherska, "Valdemar II's expedition to Pruthenia and the mission of Bishop Christian", *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 12 (1988), p. 45).

¹¹² The Danish mission in Estonia was probably not intended to compete with the Swedish mission in Finland. The organizers of the Estonian mission kept the Swedish king and Church informed of their progress and hoped for their support (letter of [1171 × 1173]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 29).

¹¹³ Letter of [5 August 1164]: *DD*, vol. 1:2, no. 153; Andersson, "Uppsala ärkestifts tillkomst", pp. 399ff.

¹¹⁴ Christensen, "Eskil", p. 258.

¹¹⁵ St Bernard, *De consideratione* III:1: *PL*, vol. 182, cols 757–60; F. Blanke, "Die Entscheidungsjahre der Preussenmission (1206–1274)", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 47 (1928). Reprinted in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des*

in September 1171 or 1172, Alexander issued a series of letters concerning the missions in the eastern Baltic. Three letters concerned the planned mission to the Estonians. The pope encouraged all Danes to support Bishop Fulco financially, and he recommended the Norwegian archbishop to allow a monk of Estonian origin, Nicholas, presently in a Norwegian monastery, to accompany Fulco.¹¹⁶ He furthermore issued a letter, *Non parum animus*, to the Christian princes and peoples of Denmark, Sweden and Norway in which he promised an indulgence to all those who fought the pagan Estonians threatening the Christians; this letter will be discussed more fully below.¹¹⁷ That the latter letter was addressed to all Scandinavian princes adds credence to the suggestion that the mission was Eskil's project, not Valdemar's, and that he was behind the petition to the pope: had it been in reply to a request from the Danish king, it would have been more likely to be addressed only to him, as he probably would have tried to maintain sole control over the campaign.¹¹⁸ A later letter in which Peter informed the Swedish king of Fulco's enterprise also indicates that Eskil and Peter did not intend to have the mission backed exclusively by the royal power of Eskil's Danish church province.¹¹⁹

Who had suggested that those who fought the pagans in defence of the Christians should be granted an indulgence? We cannot be certain. Eskil's petition is lost, and there is no internal evidence in the papal reply to prove beyond doubt that the Danish archbishop

Mittelalters [*Wege der Forschung* 7], ed. H. Beumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), pp. 389–91.

¹¹⁶ Letter of 17 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 28; letter of 9 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 26. For the dating of these letters and others issued in September 1171 or 1172, see p. 58, note 127 below.

¹¹⁷ Letter of 11 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 27. Having survived only as a copy in Peter of Celle's letter-book, *Non parum animus* of 11 September lacks *intitulatio* and *inscriptio*, but the addressees were, according to the heading in the letter-book, kings, princes and faithful in the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian kingdoms.

¹¹⁸ Relations between Valdemar and both Norway and Sweden had recently been strained. The Danish king had become embroiled in the contest for the Norwegian throne, but relations between Valdemar and the successful contender had been restored in 1170 (K. Helle, *Norge blir en stat, 1130–1319* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1974), p. 59 and pp. 69–72). Valdemar was also involved in the contest for the Swedish throne where in the 1160s the Danes supported Sverker Karlsson, the rival of King Knut Eriksson (Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave*, p. 154).

¹¹⁹ Letter of [1171 × 1173]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 29.

had requested the issue of an indulgence to participants. Alexander's letter does, however, state that his reply was based on reports from the region and it is therefore possible that the Danish petition for support for the fight against the pagans had contained a request for a spiritual award. Regardless of how it came about, this new grant of an indulgence to those who fought the pagans in the Baltic was prompted by plans for mission in the region proposed by the Danish archbishop and Abbot Peter, not by the actions of the local princes.

Alexander III and the mission in the Baltic

It seems that Alexander at first had been unwilling, or at least hesitant, to support the mission in the eastern Baltic region.¹²⁰ A letter from Abbot Peter to the pope shows that Fulco had visited the curia sometime before the issue of the papal letters in September 1171 or 1172, presumably to receive papal support for his mission, but had been unsuccessful. Fulco returned to Peter in Rheims, who now wrote to Alexander to recommend Fulco, begging the pope to look kindly upon Fulco's requests and mission, stating that "You should thus not be vexed when you are asked for help to propagate the Catholic faith, as the praise for both God and our Lord Jesus Christ will be increased, you will accumulate merit, and the infidel people will gain salvation".¹²¹

Such hesitancy in supporting Fulco's mission could have been due to the general papal policy on mission which was discussed above and which most likely also influenced Pope Eugenius's stand on mission among non-Christians. Apparently Alexander did not wish to break with this line and take on an active role in a mission's early stages. One of the letters issued in September 1171 or 1172 was a reply to a request for support for the troubled Swedish mission in Finland. The petition has not been preserved, but it is clear from the papal reply that it had described in detail the many setbacks and problems suffered by the Finnish mission. However, the pope

¹²⁰ For a similar interpretation, see Weibull, 'Påven Alexander III:s septemberbrev', p. 94, and Johansen, *Nordische Mission*, p. 91.

¹²¹ "Nonquam ergo uobis molestum debet esse, quod a uobis postulatur in auxilio propagandae catholicae fidei: quia et dei et domini nostri Iesu Christi laus inde augmentatur, meritum uestrum cumulatur, salus infideli populo acquiritur": letter of [1171 x 1172 before September]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 22.

offered very little actual help. In his short and rather vague reply Alexander merely cautioned the Swedes to be aware of the pagans' deceitfulness, but offered no encouragement or promises of future help.¹²²

A similar cautious policy was adopted regarding mission and conversion among Muslims. Alexander wrote an *instructio fidei* to the ruler of Iconium—possibly Sultan Kilij Arslan II (1155–92)¹²³—who reportedly had approached the pope for instruction in the Christian faith.¹²⁴ This instruction is the only surviving letter concerning the matter. The sultan had declared himself a willing convert and had asked for the dispatch of learned men who could instruct him. Alexander wished to accommodate the request. In the instruction he discussed some central tenets of the Catholic faith and promised to send the sultan some men to advise him on true doctrine. Alexander did not exhort the sultan to convert his subjects, nor did he apparently use this opportunity to instigate a large-scale missionary project in the sultan's realm. This appears to be a somewhat lukewarm reply and perhaps a lost opportunity for strengthening the Catholic faith in the lands beyond western Europe.¹²⁵ It is not known whether the promised instructors were sent, but nothing appears to have come of this exchange. In 1175, Alexander did however display some interest in

¹²² Letter of 9 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 25.

¹²³ J. Rousset de Pina, "L'Entrevue du Pape Alexandre III et d'un prince sarasin à Montpellier le 11 avril 1162", in *Études médiévales offertes à M. le Doyen Augustin Fliche* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier 4] (Montpellier: Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier, 1953), p. 172, note 20.

¹²⁴ *Instructio fidei catholice ab Alexandro III pontifice romano ad soldanum Iconii missa: PL*, vol. 207, cols 1069–78; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 93; M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III. Étude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et dans son oeuvre* [L'église et l'état au Moyen Âge XI] (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1956), p. 17.

¹²⁵ Bernard Hamilton has convincingly argued that a letter written in 1177 by Pope Alexander to Prester John, the fictitious ruler of rich and vast Christian communities in the Indies was part of the papal-imperial propaganda war, and it does thus not concern the papal policy on promoting the Christian faith beyond western Europe. See F. Zarncke, "Der Priester Johannes, erster Abhandlung, enthaltend Capitel I, II und III", *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften VII* (1879), pp. 941–4; B. Hamilton, "Prester John and the Three Kings of Cologne", in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), p. 183 and pp. 188–9; A. Paravicini Bagliani, "L'Église romaine de Latran I à la fin du XII^e siècle", in *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours. Tome V: Apogée de la papauté et expansion de la chrétienté (1054–1274)*, ed. A. Vauchez (Paris: Desclée, 1993), p. 229.

mission, when in a bull of 5 July—drafted by Cardinal Alberto of Morra, the future Pope Gregory VIII—he approved the new Order of Santiago and took it under papal protection. He confirmed that the order should urge its members to wage war to protect the Christians and to convert the Saracens to Christianity.¹²⁶

Alexander's reluctance to support the mission in the Baltic was, however, only temporary. At Tusculum in September 1171 or 1172 he issued the three letters concerning Fulco's mission among the Estonians and the letter concerning the mission among the Finns mentioned above. He also issued five letters to the Swedish Church which dealt with irregularities—such as simony and refusal to pay tithes—and the newly elected bishop of Linköping, all matters which may have been reported by Archbishop Eskil, who was primate of Sweden and was mentioned in two of the letters.¹²⁷ All these letters have survived only as copies in Abbot Peter of Celle's letter book, indicating that Peter had acted as intermediary between Eskil and the curia. It is possible that the pope's change of attitude and new willingness to support Fulco's mission was due to the renewed appeals from Peter and Eskil, but another possibility presents itself: perhaps Peter had asked for, and received, support for this cause from Archbishop Henry of Rheims. Henry, the younger brother of King Louis of France, had supported Alexander in the schism and became an influential papal aide in the late 1160s and early 1170s when he

¹²⁶ Letter of 5 July 1175: *Bullarium Equestris Ordinis S. Iacobi de Spatha*, ed. A. Cordova et al. (Madrid, 1719), pp. 13–16; for Alberto of Morra's drafting of this bull, see A. Ferrari, "Alberto de Morra, postulador de la orden de Santiago y su primer cronista", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la historia* CXLVI (1960), pp. 63ff. and p. 117; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 47. See also *The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St. James, 1170–1493*, ed. E. G. Blanco (Leiden, 1971), p. 110 and p. 146.

¹²⁷ Letters concerning the mission: of 17 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 28; of 9 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 26; of 11 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 27; of 9 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 25. Letters concerning the Swedish Church: of 7 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 23; of 8 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 24; of 11 September [1171 × 1172]: *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, ed. J. G. Liljegren et al., in progress (Stockholm 1829ff.), vol. 1, no. 56; of 10 September [1171 × 1172]: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 26; of 17 September [1171 × 1172]: *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, vol. 1, no. 61. All nine letters were issued at Tusculum and bore the date, but not the year, of issue. They are assumed to have been issued in 1171 or 1172 as Alexander stayed in Tusculum in the month of September in both of these years. See *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, nos. 111–15, 117–18, 120 and 122; Weibull, 'Påven Alexander III:s septemberbrev', pp. 92–3; *DD*, vol. 1:3, pp. 31–2; and *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. Julian Haseldine, p. 719.

was given the task of coordinating French recruitment to the crusade to the Holy Land.¹²⁸ There was a close relationship between Peter and Henry as evidenced by the fact that Henry entrusted his affairs to Peter when Henry later visited the curia.¹²⁹ Henry appears to have sent letters to the curia at the same time as Peter sent the letters concerning Fulco's mission; he and the Church in Rheims also received several letters from Alexander, issued in Tusculum in September in either 1171 or 1172.¹³⁰ It is thus possible that an envoy from Rheims visited the papal curia carrying both the letters of Henry and of Peter and Eskil, thereby allowing the men advocating Fulco's mission to benefit from the good relations between Henry and the pope.

Among the papal letters issued in September 1171 or 1172 is *Non parum animus* which was mentioned briefly above. It was addressed to kings, princes and faithful in the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian kingdoms and promised an indulgence to those who fought against the Estonian pagans. This short letter starts with a description of the threat posed by the pagan Estonians to the Christians in the region. The pope had received reports, presumably from Eskil, of the Estonian attacks on Christians and missionaries: "We are deeply distressed and greatly worried when we hear that the savage Estonians and other pagans in those parts rise and fight God's faithful and those who labour for the Christian faith and fight the virtue of the Christian name".¹³¹ The pope then exhorts the addressees on ten points: to serve God in all respects; to love mercy, justice and fair trials; to refrain from pillaging and unjust deeds; to serve God piously; to honour the Roman Church and recognize it as their mother and teacher; to obey the bishops, priests and prelates; to give tenths and other dues to their clergy; to honour their clergy as their fathers and shepherds; and to defend their clergy and its rights. Finally, the letter

¹²⁸ Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 7, pp. 150–1 and pp. 188–9.

¹²⁹ Letter of [1171 × 1173]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 29.

¹³⁰ Letter of 11 September [1171 × 1172]: *PL*, vol. 200, cols 861–2; letter of 29 September [1171 × 1172]: *PL*, vol. 200, col. 864; letter of 29 September [1171 × 1172]: *PL*, vol. 200, cols 864–5; letter of 29 September [1171 × 1172]: *PL*, vol. 200, col. 865.

¹³¹ "*Non parum animus noster affligitur et amaritudine non modica et dolore torquetur, cum feritatem Estonum et aliorum paganorum illarum partium aduersus dei fideles et Christiane fidei cultores grauius insurgere et immaniter debacchari audimus, et christiani nominis impugnare uirtutem*": letter of 11 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 27.

returns to the subject of the pagans: the pope exhorts the addressees to defend the Christian faith and expand the Christian faith: “to gird yourselves, armed with celestial weapons and the strength of Apostolic exhortations, to defend the truth of the Christian faith bravely and to expand the Christian faith forcefully . . .”.¹³² The letter finishes by promising an indulgence to those who fight against the pagans. Participants receive one year’s remission of sin, although those who die in this battle receive a full indulgence:

Trusting God’s mercy and merits of the apostles Peter and Paul, we thus concede to those forcefully and magnanimously fighting these often mentioned pagans one year’s remission of the sins for which they have made confession and received a penance as we are accustomed to grant those who go to the Lord’s Sepulchre. To those who die in this fight we grant remission of all their sins, if they have received a penance.¹³³

The letter is summarized in detail here to emphasise its unusual composition. It deviates markedly from the composition of contemporary crusading letters by encompassing several unrelated subjects, focusing on both the fight against the pagans and the state of affairs in the Scandinavian Churches. The many exhortations, which partly correspond with the problems mentioned in the papal letters issued in the same month to the Swedish Church, suggest another reason why the pope had been hesitant to support the missionary plans in the first place. The curia does not seem convinced that the princes and peoples of the Scandinavian countries had shown sufficient allegiance and obedience to the Roman Church and its local representatives, hardly surprisingly in light of the reported irregularities in the young Swedish Church and the Danish king’s support for the anti-pope and the rift between the Danish king and archbishop during the recent schism.

¹³² “. . . armis caelestibus premuniti et apostolicis exhortationibus confirmati ad defendendam christianae fidei veritatem spiritu fortitudinis accingamini, taliter in brachio forti ad propagandam christiani nominis religionem intendentes . . .”: letter of 11 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 27.

¹³³ “Nos enim eis, qui aduersus saepe dictos paganos potenter et magnanimiter decertauerint, de peccatis suis, de quibus confessi fuerint et poenitentiam acceperint, remissionem unius anni, confisi de misericordia dei, et meritis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, concedimus, sicut his qui sepulcrum dominicum uisitant concedere consueuimus. Illis autem, qui in conflictu illo decesserint, omnium suorum, si poenitentiam acceperint, remissionem indulgemus peccatorum”: letter of 11 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 27.

By including a description of the pagan attacks on the Christians in the region, the pope emphasised that the war against them was a defensive war, thus justifying the use of force as a defensive measure to protect the Church. But in his exhortation to the addressees he stated that the purpose of the warfare was not only defence, but also the expansion of the Christian faith through the conversion of the infidels: “to defend the truth of the Christian faith bravely and to expand the Christian faith forcefully . . .”.¹³⁴ He thereby in effect allowed for forceful conversion of the pagans, just as Eugenius III had done. By combining the ideas of *defensio* and *propagatio* of the faith¹³⁵ he came close to proclaiming a missionary war. This of course ran counter to the idea that conversion of non-Christians must be voluntary. When on 5 July 1175 he approved Alberto of Morra’s draft for the letter to the Order of Santiago and issued it as the letter *Benedictus Deus*, he again in effect allowed forceful conversion by exhorting the Order to fight not only to protect the Christians, but also to bring about the conversion of the Saracens.¹³⁶

The letter to the Scandinavian princes differed from Alexander’s crusade bulls for the Holy Land—*Quantum predecessores* of July 1165, *In quantis pressuris* of June 1166, *Inter omnia* of July 1169, and *Cor nostrum* of January 1181¹³⁷—not only in its composition, but also with regard to the indulgences and privileges granted, terminology, and the papal involvement in the organization of the campaigns.

Alexander’s view, and hence formulation, of the indulgence developed through his pontificate. In the bulls of 1165 and 1166 he followed Eugenius III’s perception and formulation of the indulgence, but in the bulls of 1169 and 1181 he reverted to the indulgence as

¹³⁴ “. . . taliter in brachio forti ad propagandam christiani nominis religionem intendentes . . .”: letter of 11 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 27.

¹³⁵ See also H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* [*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 21] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969), p. 198.

¹³⁶ Letter of 5 July 1175: *Bullarium Equestris Ordinis S. Iacobi de Spatha*, pp. 13–16; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 47.

¹³⁷ Letter of 14 July 1165: *PL*, vol. 200, cols 384–6 (this letter closely resembled Eugenius III’s bull *Quantum predecessores* of December 1145); letter of 29 June 1166: *Papsturkunden für Temppler und Johanniter*, ed. R. Hiestand, [*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse Dritte Folge* no. 77] (Göttingen, 1972), no. 53 (this had some resemblance to *Quantum predecessores* of 1165, but also contained many new passages, including an expanded indulgence formula); letter of 29 July 1169: *PL*, vol. 200, cols 599–601; letter of 16 January 1181: *PL*, vol. 200, cols 1294–6.

a statement relating to the fact of the satisfactory nature of the penance performed.¹³⁸ The indulgence granted to crusaders for participation in the crusades in aid of Jerusalem was however consistently a plenary one. The bulls of 1166, 1169 and 1181 made a distinction between on the one hand *militēs ad terminum*, knights who went to the Holy Land not on crusade but as an act of service to defend the Holy Land¹³⁹ and who received an indulgence dependent on their length of service, and on the other hand crusaders who unfailingly received a full remission of sins. In contrast, the indulgence granted in *Non parum animus* of 1171 or 1172 to participants in the Baltic expeditions was only one year's remission of sin. This was, according to the letter, as quoted above, the same indulgence as that received by those going on pilgrimage to the Lord's Sepulchre in Jerusalem.¹⁴⁰ That the indulgence for pilgrimage to the Lord's Sepulchre was one year's remission of sin had been specified by Alexander already in 1163, when he granted noblemen who kept the terms of a settlement they had reached with the abbey of Cluny an indulgence of "one year of that penance which you have received with contrite and humbly stricken heart just as those who go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem".¹⁴¹ By granting participants in the Baltic enterprise only one year's remission of sin, Alexander broke with the line taken by Eugenius III who had issued a plenary indulgence to crusaders fighting in the Baltic.

Alexander's policy on the crusade in Spain throws further light on these findings. In 1175, he issued *Memore pariter*, addressed to all

¹³⁸ Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality*, p. 100; see also I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198. Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 347–8.

¹³⁹ See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 157–61, for a discussion of such *militēs ad terminum* or 'para-crusaders'.

¹⁴⁰ "*Nos enim eis, qui aduersus sæpe dictos paganos potenter et magnanimiter decertauerint, de peccatis suis, de quibus confessi fuerint et poenitentiam acceperint, remissionem unius anni, confisi de misericordia dei, et meritis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, concedimus, sicut his qui sepulchrum dominicum uisitant concedere consueuimus*": letter of 11 September [1171 × 1172]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 27. Also the indulgence formulae in the letters concerning the Holy Land of 1166, 1169 and 1181 refer to "*sepulchrum dominicum uisitare*", but here it is consistently made clear that this refers to visits made on crusade, in reply to the papal call, by the addition of the phrase "*sepulchrum Dominicum pro instanti necessitate uisitare*".

¹⁴¹ Letter of 18 July 1163: *PL*, vol. 200, col. 250; N. Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1922–3), vol. I, p. 166, and vol. II, p. 307.

Christians in Spain, authorizing a crusade against the Muslims. After having described the Muslims' incursions he promised an indulgence to those who fought against these "Saracens". Those who died in battle would receive a full indulgence, whilst those who survived and had served for one year would receive an indulgence equivalent to that enjoyed by those who went on pilgrimage to the Lord's sepulchre,¹⁴² in other words of one year. As is evident, the indulgence for participation in the crusade on the Iberian Peninsula is very similar to that granted in *Non parum animus* for participation in the Baltic campaigns. Alexander's predecessor, Anastasius IV (1153–4), had granted participants in Count Raymond Berengar IV's crusade against the Muslims a full crusade indulgence, using the exact same words as Eugenius III in his bull *Quantum praedecessores* of 1 December 1145 concerning a crusade to the Holy Land.¹⁴³ Anastasius had thereby placed crusades on the Iberian Peninsula on an equal footing with those in aid of the Holy Land, just as Eugenius had done. With *Memore pariter* of 1175 Alexander, however, reduced the spiritual rewards awarded to participants in the crusade in Spain, just as he had done with the crusade in the Baltic region.

The extent of the indulgence was not the only difference between the bulls authorizing crusades to the Holy Land and that concerning the Baltic region. The letters for the Holy Land mention a series of privileges granted those who fought in defence of Jerusalem, such as papal protection of the fighters, their *familiae*, and their goods,¹⁴⁴ but none of these privileges were granted to participants in the Baltic enterprise. Likewise, whereas Anastasius had given crusaders in Spain the privilege of papal protection for them, their *familiae* and their

¹⁴² "Nos [ergo], quicumque pugnando contra ipsos massamutos decesserint, eis omnium peccatorum suorum, de quibus penitentiam corde contricto [egerint], confisi de misericordia redemptoris et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli meritis, veniam indulgemus; his autem qui per annum contra predictos massamutos in propriis expensis pugnaverint, illam remissionem peccatorum suorum, de quibus confessi fuerint, facimus quam his qui sepulchrum dominicum visitant assequuntur": letter of 23 March 1175: "Tres bulas inéditas de Alejandro III", ed. F. Fita, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* XII (1888), pp. 167–8.

¹⁴³ Letter of 24 September [1153 × 1154]: *Papsturkunden in Spanien. Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia. I. Katalanien*, ed. P. Kehr, [*Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse Neue Folge XVIII:2*] (Berlin, 1926), no. 70.

¹⁴⁴ *Quantum praedecessores*: letter of 14 July 1165: *PL*, vol. 200, cols 385D–6A; *In quantis pressuris*: letter of 29 June 1166: *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, p. 253; *Inter omnia*: letter of 29 July 1169: *PL*, vol. 200, col. 601B–C; *Cor nostrum*: letter of 16 January 1181: *PL*, vol. 200, cols. 1295D–6A.

goods, Alexander did not include these privileges in his bull of 1175. He thus reduced the temporal privileges enjoyed by participants in the campaigns in the Baltic and in Spain. Another difference is that the bulls concerning the Holy Land refer to the crusades as “*tam sanctus opus*” and “*tam sanctus iter*” and to the participants as having taken the cross, while such ‘crusade terminology’ is not used in *Non parum animus* or, for that matter, in *Memore pariter*.

Yet another difference is found in the level of papal commitment in the recruitment of participants. As his position in the struggle against Emperor Frederick grew stronger, Alexander became more engaged in the organization of the preaching and thereby in the recruitment for the crusades to the Holy Land.¹⁴⁵ This is evident in his appeals of 1169 and 1181. When on 29 July 1169 he sent out *Inter omnia*, he also issued a letter to Archbishop Henry of Rheims, ordering him to coordinate the recruitment to the crusade in France and giving him detailed instructions about the organization of the efforts in aid of the Holy Land, although he did not grant him legate powers.¹⁴⁶ On 16 January 1181, the same day as he sent *Cor nostrum* calling on all faithful to come to the aid of the Holy Land, he issued *Cum Orientalis terra* to all leading churchmen in the West, setting out guidelines for the recruitment for the crusade, exhorting the clergy to support the preachers sent out by the pope to promote the crusade and to ensure that the recruitment campaign met with success.¹⁴⁷ There is, however, no evidence that he attempted to ensure the success of the Baltic enterprise by involving the curia in the recruitment campaign through the issue of such guidelines.

In conclusion, Alexander did not initiate any papal involvement in the ongoing conquest and conversion of the pagan Slavs east of the Elbe, although the letters concerning the expanding church organization must have made him aware of the progress made by the Christian rulers. Indeed, it appears that he initially was reluctant to become involved in the new mission in Estonia, but he eventually relented and granted an indulgence for those defending the mission there. But Alexander chose not to follow Pope Eugenius III’s policy

¹⁴⁵ See Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 150, p. 154 and p. 246.

¹⁴⁶ Letter of 29 July 1169: *PL*, vol. 200, cols 601–2; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 189.

¹⁴⁷ Letter of 16 January 1181: *PL*, vol. 200, cols 1296–7.

on the Baltic crusades. Eugenius's bull, *Divini dispensatione* of April 1147, had set a precedent for the authorization of a crusade against the pagans in the Baltic region. He had granted participants in the Baltic crusades a full indulgence and had endeavoured to secure papal representation in this crusade by appointing a papal legate for the crusade. But Alexander did not issue a full crusade indulgence and did not put the Baltic expeditions on an equal footing with the crusades in aid of the Holy Land. Furthermore, he does not appear to have attempted to achieve any papal control over the recruitment campaign for the Baltic expedition or, for that matter, over the expedition itself.

He appears, therefore, to have been creating a hierarchy of those campaigns which were conducted as penitential wars in the service of the Church, rewarding participation in crusades in aid of the Holy Land with plenary indulgences and temporal privileges not enjoyed by those who took part in campaigns fought elsewhere. This policy may be explained by a fear of repeating the events of the Second Crusade when the diversion of resources from the Holy Land to several theatres of war had had disastrous results. The kingdom of Jerusalem was still in the early 1170s under pressure as Saladin repeatedly attacked its territory,¹⁴⁸ but Alexander's calls for help to the East of 1165, 1166, and 1169 had met with little response. This may have made him keen to reserve what resources he could raise for that cause.

The later twelfth century

Around 1180 Meinhard, a regular canon, started a mission among the pagan Livonians, basing himself at Üxküll on the Düna River.¹⁴⁹ He was supported by Archbishop Hartwig II (1185–1207) of Hamburg-Bremen, a metropolitan see with a long tradition of supporting missionary work. In 1186 Hartwig consecrated him as bishop of Üxküll, and it was also Hartwig who brought Meinhard's mission to the

¹⁴⁸ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 84 and p. 104; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, p. 208.

¹⁴⁹ See the account by Henry of Livonia: *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:2–3, p. 4.

attention of Pope Clement III (1187–91) and secured papal support for it. During his short pontificate Clement III was kept informed of the progress made by the new mission in Livonia through letters from Meinhard and the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. In September 1188 he confirmed Hamburg-Bremen's metropolitan rights over the see of Üxküll, and a few days later he confirmed the consecration of Meinhard as bishop of Üxküll.¹⁵⁰ He thereby in effect accepted the claims of Hamburg-Bremen to the new missionary church. This was in complete accordance with previous papal missionary policy, namely to leave the initiative and responsibility for missionary undertakings to local bishops and archbishops.¹⁵¹

When called upon, Clement tried to smooth the progress of the new Livonian mission. Around 1190, after reports from Meinhard, he issued a letter in which he allowed Meinhard and his fellow missionaries to use for themselves the food supplies they received from the pagans. He furthermore allowed any monk or cleric who wished to join Meinhard's mission and who had obtained his superior's permission to go to Livonia.¹⁵² Meinhard came from the house of Segeberg which, as earlier described, had links to the mission among the pagan Slavs through Bishop Vicelin of Oldenburg. Meinhard must have known of Vicelin from his time at Segeberg where the memory of Vicelin was revered, and he may even have known him personally.¹⁵³ He decided that the chapter in Üxküll should follow the Augustinian rule and began his mission in accordance with Vicelin's ideas, in that when he first arrived, he was determined to

¹⁵⁰ Letter of 25 September 1188: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 9 (the letter also confirmed Hamburg-Bremen's rights over the sees of Lübeck, Schwerin and Ratzeburg); letter of 1 October 1188: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 10.

¹⁵¹ See also M. Maccarrone, "I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia", in *Gli inizi del christianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Storia Ecclesiastica in Occasione dell'VIII Centenario della Chiesa in Livonia [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche. Atti e Documenti I]* (Vatican City: Liberia Editrice Vaticana, 1989), pp. 35–9.

¹⁵² "*Insuper indulgemus, ut quicumque religiosi seu clerici, idonei ad annuntiandum gentibus evangelicam veritatem, requisita et habita praelatorum suorum licentia, tibi voluerint adhaerere, id absque contradictione qualibet liberam exsequendi habeant auctoritate apostolica facultatem*": letter of [1190]: *LEC* III, no. 11a and 'La *Collectio seguntina* et les décrétales de Clément III et de Célestin III', ed. W. Holtzmann, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* L (1955), pp. 425–6.

¹⁵³ Elm, "Christi cultores et novella ecclesie plantatores", p. 151; Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum* I:78, p. 266.

obtain the conversion of the Livonians through peaceful means. He preached and debated and set up a church to serve as a centre for the pastoral care of his new flock.¹⁵⁴ Despite this adherence to the rule and traditions of his Order, he did not restrict recruitment for his mission to his fellow regular canons. Among his most prominent fellow missionaries was the Cistercian Theodorich, from the abbey of Loccum, who started a mission in Treyden north of Üxkill.¹⁵⁵ With the papal letter of 1190 in hand Meinhard could continue to recruit widely.

During the pontificate of Clement's successor, Celestine III (1191–98), the curia followed the development of the Baltic mission with great interest. A report from Meinhard was debated in the college of cardinals and led to an enthusiastic reply in April 1193.¹⁵⁶ The papal reply implies that Meinhard had mentioned the temptation to withdraw from the active life as a missionary and return to the "embrace of Rachel".¹⁵⁷ Praising Meinhard's choice of the active rather than the contemplative life, Celestine now urged him to continue his work. He also complied with Meinhard's requests, going further than Clement had done in 1190: he allowed the bishop to recruit actively those men whom he deemed useful and necessary for his mission, imposing no limits on whom could be enlisted, and he gave these recruits permission to preach. Acknowledging that the missionaries in Livonia was a heterogeneous group, the pope also allowed Meinhard to dispense his fellow missionaries from their orders' rules on food and clothing.¹⁵⁸ He thereby facilitated the missionary work by removing the everyday obstacles facing the regular canons, Premonstratensians, Cistercians and Benedictines living and working side by side in the missionary field.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:2–4, p. 4; Jähnig, "Zisterzienser und Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht", p. 75. See also Maccarrone, "I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia", pp. 32–3.

¹⁵⁵ Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:10, pp. 6–8.

¹⁵⁶ Letter of 27 April 1193: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 11; Maccarrone, "I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia", p. 43.

¹⁵⁷ Letter of 27 April 1193: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 11; see also Maccarrone, "I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia", p. 44.

¹⁵⁸ "*Caeterum quia plures ex diversis ordinibus ad huiusmodi pium officium ad instantiam tuam vel propria devotione accesserunt hactenus, et forte accedent in futurum, dispensandi cum eis in cibis, potibus, quin et vestibus, et praedicationis officium iniugendi liberam tibi tribuimus, auctoritate apostolica facultatem*": letter of 27 April 1193: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 11.

¹⁵⁹ M. Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1972), pp. 262–4.

This letter of 27 April 1193 is the only surviving letter from Celestine III concerning the Livonian mission. But narrative sources mentioned letters from Celestine granting indulgences to those who supported the mission by going to Livonia. The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia referred to two such letters, but did not copy or quote directly from either of them. Henry reported that Bishop Meinhard, who led the mission until his death in 1196, sent a messenger to take counsel with the pope after experiencing the Livonians' apostasy and breaches of promises to convert. Henry summarized this visit:

When the supreme pontiff heard how many had been baptized, he thought that they should not be deserted and decreed that they ought to be forced to observe the faith which they had freely promised. He granted, indeed, the remission of all sins to all those who would take the cross and go to restore that newly founded church.¹⁶⁰

Henry went on to describe how Meinhard's successor, the Cistercian Berthold, bishop from 1197 until his death at the hands of the Livonians in 1198, also approached the pope to obtain support: Berthold

bewailed both to the lord pope and to the bishop [of Hamburg-Bremen], as well as to all the faithful of Christ, the ruin of the church of Livonia. The lord pope, therefore, granted remission of sins to all those who should take the cross and arm themselves against the perfidious Livonians. And he sent letters about these matters to Bishop Berthold as he had to his predecessor.¹⁶¹

A third passage in Henry's chronicle may also relate to Celestine's letters. Henry described how Berthold's successor, Bishop Albert, embarked on a recruitment campaign after his consecration in early 1199 which eventually took him to King Philip of Swabia's court in

¹⁶⁰ "*Summus itaque pontifex audito numero baptizatorum non eos deserendos censuit, sed ad observationem fidei, quam sponte promiserant, cogendos decrevit. Remissionem quippe omnium peccatorum indulsit omnibus, qui ad resuscitandam illam primitivam ecclesiam accepta cruce transeant*": *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:12, p. 10; translated in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, transl. J. A. Brundage, 2nd edition (New York, 2003), p. 30.

¹⁶¹ "*. . . Lyvoniensis ecclesie ruinam tam domno pape quam metropolitano et Christi fidelibus conqueritur universis. Igitur dominus papa cunctis signum crucis accipientibus et contra perfidos Lyvones se armantibus remissionem indulget peccatorum, litteras super his eidem episcopo Bertoldo sicut et suo dirigens predecessori*": *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* II:3, p. 12; translated in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, transl. J. A. Brundage, p. 32.

Magdeburg at Christmas 1199, just in time for Philip's coronation. Here he recruited more men.¹⁶² Henry recounted how

In the presence of the king an opinion was asked for as to whether the goods of the pilgrims to Livonia were to be placed under the protection of the pope, as is the case of those who journey to Jerusalem. It was answered, indeed, that they were included under the protection of the pope, who, in enjoining the Livonian pilgrimage for the plenary remission of sins, made it equal with that to Jerusalem.¹⁶³

It has been assumed by some that the letter interpreted here was one from Innocent III who in October 1199 issued letters to Albert. But it is possible that this letter was one issued by Celestine: during the summer and autumn of 1199 Albert must have based his preaching on Celestine's letters, as he had not yet received those from Innocent, and it may thus be the terms of one of Celestine's letters which required clarification.

The chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck also mentions a letter from Celestine granting indulgences for the Livonian mission. After having described how Berthold successfully raised an army in northern Germany, an account which tallies with that given in Henry of Livonia's chronicle, Arnold went on to describe the papal support Berthold had received:

And because there were no reasons for crusades to Jerusalem, Pope Celestine wanted to further the work in Livonia and thus allowed those, who had taken a vow [to go to Jerusalem], to go to Livonia instead, if they wished to do so, and they would not receive a smaller indulgence therefore.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* III:1–2, p. 16. At Magdeburg, Albert would have met his metropolitan, Hartwig II of Hamburg-Bremen, who at this time supported Phillip in the imperial election (G. Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe von Hamburg-Bremen als Reichsfürsten (937–1258)* [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens 60] (Hildesheim: August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), p. 203).

¹⁶³ “*Et coram eodem rege in sententia queritur, si bona in Lyvoniā peregrinancium sub tuicione pape ponantur, sicut eorum, qui Ierosolimam vadunt. Responsum vero est ea sub protectione apostolici comprehendī, qui peregrinacionem Lyvonie in plenariam peccaminum iniungens vie coequavit Ierosolimitane*”: *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* III:2, p. 16; translated in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, transl. J. A. Brundage, pp. 35–6.

¹⁶⁴ “*Et quia profectio sive peregrinatio Iherosolimitana tunc vacare videbatur, ad supplementum huius laboris dominus papa Celestinus indulserat, ut quicumque peregrinationi memorate se vovissent, huic itineri, si tamen ipsis complacuisset, se sociarent, nec minorem peccatorum remissionem a Deo perciperent*”: Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, [*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit*] (Hannover, 1868), V:30, pp. 214–15.

Arnold's suggestion that this commutation of vows was granted because there were no crusades in aid of the Holy Land is plausible. There were no new crusade initiatives under way at this time. Supported by papal letters, Henry VI of Germany had promoted a crusade to the Holy Land in the autumn of 1195 and the spring of 1196, but the crusaders assembled in the ports of southern Italy and Sicily in the spring of 1197 and must thus have left Germany in early 1197.¹⁶⁵

These summaries raise the question of how well informed Henry and Arnold were. Henry, who wrote his chronicle a generation after these events, between 1225 and 1227, does not appear to have had access to the papal letters. He did not say that he had had the opportunity to inspect them personally and his account of them may be based on oral and second-hand evidence. His understanding of the indulgences may not have been very complete. Later he reported how around 1208 Bishop Albert, wishing to persuade crusaders about to return to remain in Livonia, invited them to resume "the sign of the cross in return for a plenary remission of their previously neglected sins and promised them a greater indulgence and eternal life for the greater labour of their long pilgrimage".¹⁶⁶ Henry here seems to suggest that Albert had the authority to grant a plenary indulgence to crusaders who previously had been granted only a partial one. Arnold of Lübeck died in the early 1210s and his chronicle was thus composed before Henry's.¹⁶⁷ His knowledge of the Livonian crusade must derive from the Livonian missionary bishops' frequent visits to his

¹⁶⁵ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 118–19; letter of 1 August 1195: *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe*, ed. K. Janicke and H. Hoogeweg, 6 vols (Leipzig, 1896–1911), vol. 1, no. 510; Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe von Hamburg-Bremen als Reichsfürsten*, p. 201.

¹⁶⁶ "... crucis signum resumere in plenariam ante neglectorum delictorum remissionem ammonendo confortat et ob maioris laboris sui longam peregrinationem maiorem indulgentiam et vitam promittit eternam": *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XI:9, p. 82. Brundage (in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, p. 78) translates this passage as "He comforted them by reminding them of the previous plenary remission of their neglected sins, and, because of the greater labours they would now be undertaking on their long pilgrimage, he promised a greater indulgence and eternal life". If Brundage's translation is correct, rather than that given above, it would still suggest that Henry's understanding of the indulgence was somewhat hazy, namely that he believed that a plenary indulgence could be increased further.

¹⁶⁷ Arnold died between 1211 and 1214, and the chronicle ends with events of 1209: Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum*, p. 110.

home town of Lübeck during their recruitment campaigns and from crusaders embarking for Livonia from Lübeck.

Both the dating and the content of these letters from Celestine granting indulgences for participation in the Livonian are open for debate. The first letter mentioned by Henry could have been issued at the same time as that allowing Bishop Meinhard to recruit helpers from all religious orders, that is, April 1193.¹⁶⁸ However, the composition of Henry of Livonia's chronicle suggests a date of 1195 or 1196.¹⁶⁹ The second papal letter mentioned by Henry must be dated to 1197. It was issued during Berthold's episcopate, that is between 1197 and 1198, and by the same pope who had issued a letter to Meinhard, that is Celestine III, whose pontificate ended with his death on 8 January 1198. The letter mentioned by Arnold may be the same as the second letter mentioned by Henry or one issued simultaneously: Berthold's short tenure makes it unlikely that he obtained papal letters more than once.

As to the content of Celestine's letters, it remains unclear from the short summaries exactly what the pope intended the crusaders' task to be and how he justified the use of force against the pagans. In his letter of 1195 or 1196 Celestine may have allowed Meinhard to employ crusaders in defence of his mission, but it appears from Henry's account that Celestine's letter also referred to the apostasy of the Livonians. Celestine seems to have allowed the use of force to bring the apostate Livonians back to the faith. As quoted above, Henry reported that Celestine "decreed that they ought to be forced

¹⁶⁸ Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III.*, p. 198, and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 130, follow this date.

¹⁶⁹ In Henry's chronicle, three events are described as being closely related in time: the envoy's journey to Rome, a joint Swedish and German attack on Kurland, and the death of Meinhard in 1196. The attack on Kurland is supposed to have taken place just around the time of the envoy's visit to Rome, and the illness of Meinhard which soon led to his death apparently happened immediately after the attack on Kurland (*Henrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:12–14, pp. 8–10). This date is used by P. Rebane, "Denmark, the Papacy and the Christianization of Estonia", in *Gli inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Storia Ecclesiastica in Occasione dell'VIII Centenario della Chiesa in Livonia* [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche. *Atti e Documenti* I] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1989), p. 179; by T. K. Nielsen and K. V. Jensen, "Pope Innocent III and Denmark", in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998* [Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. *Nuovi Studi Storici* 55/ *Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria XLIV XLIV*], ed. A. Sommerlechner, 2 vols (Rome: la Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2003), vol. 2, p. 1157; and by E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd edition (London: Penguin, 1997), p. 98.

to observe the faith which they had freely promised” and that the crusaders’ task was to “go to restore that newly founded church”.¹⁷⁰ In his chronicle Henry described Meinhard and his companions as being under threat from the Livonians, Lithuanians and Semgallians, and he also depicted Meinhard as increasingly frustrated with the Livonians’ apostasy. He described several instances in which Livonians were baptized only to relapse into paganism, as well as cases in which they failed to fulfil promises to take the faith, and implied that this led Meinhard to look for a new strategy and to seek counsel with the pope towards the end of his episcopate.¹⁷¹

The proposed purpose of the crusade proclaimed in 1197 cannot be decided. But again the composition and wording of Henry’s chronicle imply that it was the continued apostasy of the Livonians which eventually led Berthold to seek permission from the pope to use force against the Livonians. Henry described how Berthold travelled to Livonia to take up his position without bringing an army, having decided, according to Henry, to “test his fortune without an army”.¹⁷² Being met with violent resistance, he quickly returned to Saxony and from there sought assistance from his archbishop and eventually from the curia.¹⁷³ This led to Celestine’s second letter, that of 1197. Returning to Livonia with an army, Berthold began to use force to subjugate the Livonians and bring them to the faith, stating, according to Henry, that he took this step because the Livonians “had returned too often from the faith to paganism”.¹⁷⁴ Henry thus took care to present the use of force as necessitated and justified by the Livonians’ apostasy. The envoys to the curia may not only have presented the mission in Livonia as threatened by attacks from pagans, but also have emphasised their need for measures to force apostates back to the faith.

Unfortunately, also the rewards promised to the crusaders going to Livonia remain uncertain. Henry declared that in his letter of 1195 or 1196 Celestine promised participants in the Baltic venture

¹⁷⁰ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:12, p. 10; translated in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, transl. J. A. Brundage, p. 30.

¹⁷¹ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:5–9, pp. 4–6, and I:11, p. 8.

¹⁷² “*Factus episcopus, primo sine exercitu Domino se committens fortunam exploraturus Lyvoniā pergūt . . .*”: *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* II:2, p. 10.

¹⁷³ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* II:3, p. 12.

¹⁷⁴ “. . . a fide sepius ad paganismum redierint”: *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* II:5, p. 12.

full remission of sins, while his account of Celestine's letter of 1197 mentioned only an unspecified remission of sins. The letter discussed at Philip's Christmas court in 1199, which may well have been issued by Celestine, also granted participants in the campaigns fought for the Livonian mission a full remission of sins, according to Henry's narrative. It is not clear whether there really was a difference between the spiritual rewards promised by Celestine over the years, as suggested by Henry's summaries, or whether Celestine consistently granted crusaders in the Baltic a plenary indulgence. It depends on the reliability of Henry's account and the care taken by Henry in describing these spiritual rewards. But Arnold's statement that Celestine in 1197 granted crusaders in the Baltic the same indulgence as that given to crusaders in the East, that is, a plenary indulgence, confirms Henry's report that Celestine did offer plenary indulgences to participants in these crusades. So while one cannot be absolutely certain, it is likely that Celestine granted participants in the Baltic crusades a full indulgence.

It is not known what temporal privileges Celestine promised crusaders in the Baltic. If it was indeed one of his letters which was discussed at Philip's Christmas court in Magdeburg in 1199 when a clarification of the protection of the crusaders was sought, it may be deduced that his letters did not contain a detailed list of privileges granted to participants. Henry of Livonia showed that potential crusaders were well aware of the privileges granted crusaders going to the East and were pressing for similar privileges to be given to crusaders in the Baltic. Such equalization of the crusades in aid of Jerusalem and the Baltic crusades may also have been actively sought by the missionary bishops in their appeals to the pope.

To sum up, the mission in Livonia took off in the 1190s. At first it followed a traditional set-up, in as far as it was started on local initiative under the auspices of the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, but it soon deviated from the line taken by most of the conversion projects undertaken in the region by beginning to forge strong links to the curia. The missionary bishops of Livonia actively used the curia to further their enterprise by frequently appealing to it, sometimes with the backing of their metropolitan, the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen.

The missionaries initially worked through preaching and peaceful means but, faced with the resistance and perhaps the apostasy of the pagan Livonians, Meinhard decided to try a new approach rather

than abandoning his venture. He instigated a change of strategy from one of peaceful mission to one which used force. Berthold eventually chose the same line. Henry of Livonia ascribes this change of strategy to the missionary bishops,¹⁷⁵ and the early letters of Clement III and Celestine III give no indication that they intended this mission to be anything but a traditional one. The idea to employ crusaders—presumably in defence of the Christians and to force apostates back into the fold—thus appears to have originated with the missionary bishops rather than in the curia.

The decision to change the strategy of the mission is not surprising when one takes into account how conversion and armed force had been intertwined in the Baltic region in the previous decades. We cannot know why the missionary bishops chose to approach the curia rather than a nearby Christian ruler to obtain assistance, but the fact that there was no Christian ruler with direct links to the Livonian mission or with territorial claims to the lands is likely to have been a factor. It is possible that the missionary bishops were inspired by the papal proclamation of the Wendish crusade in 1147 which had linked the curia with the expansion of the faith in the Baltic region. The memory of this crusade was presumably still strong among members of the north German nobility and in the chapters of Hamburg and Bremen, as the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen had joined the campaign alongside Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony. The missionary bishops may also have been inspired by the Danish Archbishop Eskil's approach on the Estonian mission around 1170, knowledge of which may have been transmitted through the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen or the curia.

The appeals from the missionary bishops were favourably received by the curia, although the source material does not allow us to decide the exact character of the papal policy in the crusades proclaimed in aid of the mission. But it appears that Celestine at some point gave a full remission of sins to crusaders in the Baltic. Also Arnold's statement that the pope allowed the commutation of vows from the Holy Land to Livonia suggests that he was willing to back the crusades in the eastern Baltic region more forcefully than Alexander III had been. As for the justification for allowing the use of force against the Livonians, Henry's account makes it likely that the missionary

¹⁷⁵ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:11, p. 8 and II:2–4, pp. 10–12.

bishops argued that they needed help to fight the apostasy among the Livonians and that the just cause brought forward by the pope was the Livonians' apostasy which, as rebellion against the Church, posed a serious threat to the Church.

Pope Celestine was responsive to the needs and concerns voiced by Meinhard and his successor, Berthold. But, like Clement III, he was merely reactive, designing solutions to the problems reported by the bishops. He did not instigate new missionary undertakings. This lack of missionary initiative may also be seen in his dealings with other regions. After requests from the Christians living in Morocco, Celestine dutifully ordered the archbishop of Toledo to dispatch an Arabic-speaking priest to the region. But the priest was only to work among the Christians there; he was not to undertake any preaching to the Muslims.¹⁷⁶

Conclusions

The papacy became involved in the ongoing conquest and conversion of the pagans in the Baltic region with the proclamation of the Wendish crusade in 1147. In the rest of the twelfth century, papal policy on the campaigns in the Baltic region varied considerably from pontificate to pontificate. With Eugenius's proclamation of a crusade against the Slavs as part of the Second Crusade the idea of the crusade was applied to warfare against the pagans in northern Europe, and the campaigns were put on an equal footing with the crusades in aid of the Holy Land. Pope Eugenius III's engagement in the conversion of the Slavs was, however, to be only temporary and did not lead to continuous papal participation in this endeavour. There was no recent tradition for papal initiative in the mission among the pagans. There was no central coordinating agency and no centrally organized system for financing mission. The papacy made no attempt to become involved in the ongoing conquest and conversion, although the various requests and letters concerning the expanding church organization must have made the curia aware of the activities there.

¹⁷⁶ Letter of 4 June 1192: 'Noticias', ed. F. Fita, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* XI (1887), pp. 455–6; Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, p. 85.

After the Second Crusade the campaigns to conquer and convert the pagan Slavs continued. These campaigns were planned, financed and carried out by local princes, bishops, and archbishops. The pagans were mostly converted by force and without much instruction in the Christian faith. For the Christian secular powers engaged in these campaigns the conversion of the pagans was not the only priority; equally—or more—important were political motives such as the creation of alliances and new systems of vassalage and the generation of tribute. The conversion and instruction of the people in the lands east of the Elbe had received new impetus in the second quarter of the century as the new reform ideas influenced some of the leading actors. This may have led to better provision of pastoral care for the new converts. But the arrival of new groups of monks and regular canons who stressed preaching and evangelizing had not led to a significant change of missionary strategy. Their ideas about peaceful conversion were not often realized because the carriers of these ideas had to cooperate with the secular rulers and hence work on their terms. The conversion methods therefore mostly continued along traditional lines where a people was baptised before receiving instruction, a situation which of course led to only a nominal acceptance of Christianity.

Most of the powers involved in the campaigns aimed at the conquest and conversion of the Slavs did not involve Rome in the organization of their projects, but only consulted the curia in matters regarding the creation of the ecclesiastical organizations and foundation of new religious houses which followed successful campaigns. This may be ascribed to the fact that the Christian secular powers traditionally had undertaken such campaigns without papal authorization and support.

However, the organizers of two new missionary projects in the easternmost part of the Baltic region chose to use the curia more actively to further their ventures. When in the early 1170s the Danish archbishop planned a mission in Estonia, he appealed to Pope Alexander III for support. At first, the pope did not offer much encouragement—indeed, it appears that he was reluctant to become involved. But he eventually granted an indulgence for those who went to Estonia to defend the mission. Alexander did not, however, follow Eugenius III's line. While Eugenius had granted participants in the Baltic crusades a full indulgence as well as some temporal

privileges and had set in place measures to ensure papal representation in this crusade through a papal legate, Alexander did not grant a full crusade indulgence for participants. He did not offer the participants any of the temporal privileges enjoyed by crusaders in the East. Nor does he appear to have attempted to control its recruitment campaign or the expedition itself. He did not put the Baltic crusades on a par with the crusades in the East, even though Eugenius's proclamation of a crusade against the Slavs would have provided him with a legitimate precedent. While Alexander may have chosen this line because he did not view the matter of the new mission as sufficiently important to call for a crusade, the most powerful temporal instrument available to the pope, it is suggested here that his policy was also influenced by a fear of a repetition of the disastrous Second Crusade, when the diffusion of western resources to three different theatres of war had led to spectacular failure in the East and subsequent low morale in the West. Alexander appears to have created a hierarchy of penitential warfare in service of the Church in which he rewarded campaigns in the Baltic and on the Iberian Peninsula with only partial indulgences and devised no papal measures to control the organization of the campaigns, while at the same time he gave the crusades in aid of the Holy Land his full support, granting crusaders there a plenary indulgence and a variety of privileges and ensuring that measures were put in place that would facilitate the recruitment and organization of the expeditions. The crusades in aid of the Holy Land were thus set above penitential warfare fought elsewhere. This policy was quite possibly not followed by Pope Celestine III who responded to requests from the new mission in Livonia, but the scarce source material allows only tentative conclusions. Celestine is likely to have offered those who went to support the new mission in Livonia a plenary indulgence and he appears to have allowed commutation of vows from the East to Livonia, a concession perhaps given because there were no crusades under way in aid of the Holy Land.

The justifications given by the popes for the employment of penitential warfare in the Baltic region varied. Both Eugenius III and Alexander III in effect allowed forceful conversion of the pagans, in clear contradiction of canon law, although Alexander also added a defensive purpose and emphasised that pagans were threatening the Christians here. Celestine, by contrast, may have legitimated the

employment of force against the pagans as necessary to bring apostate Livonians back to the faith.

There was therefore no consistent papal policy on the employment of penitential warfare in the region, but an ad-hoc policy in which the popes responded to petitions from local powers already involved in warfare or mission. In the second half of the twelfth century the impetus which saw the employment of penitential warfare in the service of the Church thus came from within the Church, from archbishops and bishops, not from local princes or from the curia itself.

CHAPTER TWO

INNOCENT III (1198–1216) AND THE CRUSADES IN THE BALTIC REGION

Pope Innocent III took a keen interest in the crusades and made significant contributions to both the idea and practice of crusading. He issued his first general letter calling for a crusade in aid of the Holy Land in August 1198, only seven months after his election.¹ This letter, *Post miserabile*, started the recruiting for the Fourth Crusade which was to culminate in the sack of Constantinople in April 1204 without fulfilling the hopes of restoring Jerusalem. In May 1208 Innocent made an attempt at recruiting crusaders in France for the Holy Land, and in December that year he issued the bull *Utinam dominus* trying to raise support in Lombardy and the March of Ancona for a crusade to the East.² Neither of these brought any results. With the bull *Quia major* of April 1213 Innocent began the large-scale preparations for a crusade in aid of the East, intended to strike once the truce made between the kingdom of Jerusalem and the Muslims ended in 1217.³ He may have been emboldened by a resurgence of crusading enthusiasm and by the Christians' success in Spain, at Las Navas de Tolosa against the Almohad caliph in 1212, which was taken as an indication of divine approval of the Christian cause.⁴ The extensive preparations for the new crusade were developed further at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. During his pontificate

¹ Letter of 15 August [1198]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, ed. O. Hageneder et al. (Graz, Cologne and Vienna, 1964ff.), vol. 1, no. 336.

² Letter of 10 December 1208: *PL*, vol. 215, cols. 1500–3; H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* [*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 21] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969), p. 133; H. Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III [Europe in the Middle Ages. Selected Studies 12]*, trans. W. Sax (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980), pp. 340–1.

³ Letter of [19–29] April 1213: 'Urkundenbeilage', ed. G. Tangl, in G. Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III.* (Weimar, 1929), pp. 88–97; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), p. 141.

⁴ N. Housley, "The thirteenth-century crusades in the Mediterranean", in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume V: c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 572–3.

Innocent also proclaimed crusades against the heretics in France and against Markward of Anweiler.

Innocent's pontificate also saw the curia being drawn more closely into events in the Baltic region where the missionary activities expanded.

The events in the Baltic region during the pontificate of Innocent III

The election of a new bishop for Livonia proved to be a turning point for the hitherto unsuccessful mission. In 1199 Archbishop Hartwig II of Hamburg-Bremen appointed Albert of Buxhövden, a canon of Bremen and the archbishop's nephew, as the third missionary bishop.⁵ His determined persistence and energy finally got the mission off the ground, but his ambitions soon led to problems with his missionary collaborators.

Shortly after his arrival in Livonia Albert founded the town of Riga and moved the episcopal seat there from Üxküll.⁶ The missionary work in Livonia now took the form of conquest and conversion by force, and Albert began returning almost annually to Germany to recruit men for the fight against the pagans. He also secured himself a permanent military support by establishing German knights on fiefs in the immediate countryside, and in 1202 a new military order, the *Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia* or the Sword-Brothers, was founded.⁷ As more and more land in Livonia and southern Estonia was subjugated by the bishop and his helpers, the citizens of Riga and the Sword-Brothers, quarrels arose among the conquerors about the distribution of the conquered lands. In the absence of a secular overlord, the pope became embroiled in these territorial disputes in 1210 when the bishop and the master of the Order both visited the curia to argue their case. Innocent mediated a solution in which the Order was to receive a third of the conquered

⁵ The most detailed study of Bishop Albert is G. Gnegel-Waitschies, *Bischof Albert von Riga. Ein Bremer Domherr als Kirchenfürst im Osten (1199–1229)* (Hamburg: August Friedrich Velmede Verlag, 1958), but see also F. F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwerbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1965).

⁶ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, [*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XXIV*] (Darmstadt, 1959) VI:3, pp. 22–4.

⁷ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* VI:4, p. 24; Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwerbrüder*, p. 39.

lands and he regulated the relationship between the Order and bishop.⁸ This did not, however, spell the end of the competition between the parties, and for the remainder of Innocent's pontificate Albert and the Sword-Brothers sent numerous petitions and mutual complaints to Rome.

In the early thirteenth century a new missionary project was started in Prussia by monks from the Polish Cistercian abbey of Lekno. Two centuries earlier Adalbert Vojtěch (d. 997) and Brun of Querfurt (d. 1009) had attempted to undertake mission among the Prussians, and in the end of the twelfth century the interest in Poland for this missionary field had been renewed.⁹ The new Prussian mission received papal approval in 1206 and was led by the Cistercian monk Christian from around 1210.¹⁰ It was soon placed under the protection of the archbishop of Gnesen who was also given legatine powers over it, but in 1215 Christian was made bishop of Prussia during his visit to Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council.¹¹ Christian and his fellow missionaries strove to fight off competition for the control of the mission from the Polish and Pomeranian princes whom they accused of using the mission to further their own territorial expansionist ends.¹²

The Danes were involved in several of the missionary projects in the eastern Baltic region. The Danish Church continued to harbour plans about a mission in Estonia, and in 1206 it prepared, in cooperation with the Danish King Valdemar II (1202–41), an expedition

⁸ Letters of 20 October 1210: *LEC*, vol. 1, nos 16–17; Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwerbrüder*, pp. 113–14. For interpretations of this arrangement, see Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwerbrüder*, pp. 115–16, and E. Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1971), pp. 41–3. The letters also established that the Order was to use the rule of the Templars.

⁹ S. M. Szacherska, “Valdemar II's expedition to Pruthenia and the mission of Bishop Christian”, *Medieval Scandinavia* 12 (1988), pp. 49–50.

¹⁰ Letter of 26 October 1206: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 9, no. 174. For the leadership of the mission prior to 1210 and for the Danish involvement in it, see Z. Nowak, “Milites Christi de Prussia. Der Orden von Dobrin und seine Stellung in der preußischen Mission”, in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas [Vorträge und Forschungen 26]*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1980), pp. 340ff., and Szacherska, “Valdemar II's expedition to Pruthenia”, *passim*.

¹¹ Letter of 4 September 1210: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 5; Nowak, “Milites Christi de Prussia”, pp. 342–3; F. Blanke, “Die Missionsmethode des Bischofs Christian von Preussen”, *Altpreußische Forschungen* 4 (1927). Reprinted in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters [Wege der Forschung 7]*, ed. H. Beumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), p. 351.

¹² Blanke, “Die Missionsmethode des Bischofs Christian von Preussen”, pp. 356–8.

to the Estonian island of Ösel (Saaremaa).¹³ In the summer of that year the island was conquered, although the Danes had to give up their hope of securing a permanent presence there. Most of the expedition returned home, but the Danish archbishop, Anders Sunesen (1201–22), went on to Riga, the centre of the Livonian mission, where he spent the winter of 1206–7. After his return to Denmark he sent a report to Pope Innocent, stating, somewhat optimistically, that all of Livonia had now been converted.¹⁴ King Valdemar and the Danish Church also had links to the new mission in Prussia, and in 1210 the king led an expedition to Prussia after having obtained papal authorization of his venture.¹⁵

The Danish archbishop also got involved with the Swedish mission in Finland which for some years had been paralysed by a contest for the Swedish throne, and in 1209 he applied for permission to consecrate a bishop of Finland.¹⁶ The Danish archbishop remained

¹³ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* X:13, pp. 60–2.

¹⁴ The report itself has not survived, but the *Gesta Innocentii* reports that “*Interea venit ad ipsum [Innocent III] relatio ex parte Lundensis archiepiscopi, quem Legatum direxerat ad convertendos paganos, quod tota Livonia erat ad fidem Christi conversa, nullusque in ipsa remanserat qui non recepisset sacramentum baptismatis, vicinis gentibus ad hoc ipsum ex magna parte paratis*”: *PL*, vol. 214, cols cxiv–cxv. In response to this news, Innocent wrote to the German clergy and exhorted them to support the Livonian mission (letter of 31 January 1208: ‘Beilage’, ed. H. von Bruiningk, in *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1902* (Riga, 1903), pp. 35–6; Gnegel-Waitschies, *Bischof Albert von Riga*, p. 78, note 418). Anders’s stay in Riga: *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* X:13, p. 62, and XI:1, p. 68. A possible outcome of the Danish archbishop’s stay in Riga may have been a new Danish expedition to Fellin (Viljandi) in southern Estonia in 1208, but the surviving sources recording this are late and fragmentary (L. P. Fabricius, “Sagnet om Danebroge og de ældste Forbindelser med Estland”, *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* VI:1:3 (1935), pp. 492–4; J. H. Lind, C. S. Jensen, K. V. Jensen and A. L. Bysted, *Danske korstog. Krig og mission i Østersøen* (Copenhagen: Høst og Søn, 2004), p. 201).

¹⁵ Three letters of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, nos 162–4; letter of 7 May 1210: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 173; ‘Annales Valdemarii’, ed. E. Kroman, in *Danmarks Middelalderlige Annaler*, ed. E. Kroman (Copenhagen, 1980), *sub anno* 1210, p. 78. For the Danish involvement in Pomerania, see N. Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave. Danmarkshistorie uden retouche* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1971), pp. 213–14; T. Nyberg, “Kreuzzug und Handel in der Ostsee zur dänischen Zeit Lübecks”, in *Lübeck 1226. Reichsfreiheit und frühe Stadt*, ed. O. Ahlers et al. (Lübeck: Hansisches Verlagskontor H. Scheffler, 1976), pp. 175–7 and p. 193; J. Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum im kirchlich-politischen Kräftespiel des Reichs, Polens und Dänemarks vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert: Mission, Kirchenorganisation, Kultpolitik [Ostmittleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart 17]* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1979), pp. 438ff.; and Szacherska, “Valdemar II’s expedition to Pruthenia”, *passim*.

¹⁶ Letter of 30 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 161.

primate of Sweden and the Danes had long taken an interest in the Finnish mission, but the archbishop's involvement in the Finnish election may also be ascribed to a wish to ensure that the leader of the new Finnish Church was favourable to that candidate for the Swedish throne whom he and the Danish king supported.¹⁷

The first decades of the thirteenth century thus saw the opening up of yet another missionary field in the eastern Baltic region. The progress of the ongoing missionary projects led to an increased amount of petitions to the curia as the ecclesiastical and secular parties involved in the mission applied for support for their activities.

Requests for papal support for the activities in the Baltic region

From this period onwards the source material allows us to follow the interaction between the curia and the local powers involved in the Baltic mission more closely. The letters available for an analysis of Innocent III's policy there mainly concern the Livonian mission and the Danish activities. Both the leaders of the Livonian mission and the Danes successfully lobbied the curia for support for their activities. The Prussian mission had not yet reached a size and complexity requiring frequent papal attention, while for a great part of Innocent's pontificate the mission in Finland was inhibited by the disputed succession to the Swedish throne.

Bishop Albert of Livonia continued the practice of his predecessors of often appealing to the pope for support. He sent petitions to the curia in 1199–1200, 1201, 1203–4, 1210, 1212, and 1213, and in 1215 he attended the Fourth Lateran Council.¹⁸ Henry of Livonia recounted Albert's appeal to the pope at the council:

¹⁷ Nyberg, "Kreuzzug und Handel in der Ostsee", p. 184. The Danes had undertaken an expedition to Finland in 1191 ('Annales Valdemarii' *sub anno* 1191, p. 76; G. Kerkkonen, "De danska korstågens hamnar i Finland", *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 27–28 (1952). Reprinted in *Kring korstågen till Finland. Ett urval uppsatser tillägnat Jarl Gallén på hans sextioårsdag den 23 maj 1968*, ed. K. Mikander (Helsinki: s.n., 1968), pp. 111–12. See also T. Nyberg, "The Danish Church and Mission in Estonia", *Nordeuropaforum* 1 (1998), p. 68).

¹⁸ The exact dating of papal letters to Albert cannot be established in all cases, as some letters are undated and Henry of Livonia's chronicle occasionally abandons the chronology in favour of a narrative flow. For the letters concerning Livonia and the visits to the curia, see: letter of 5 October [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 254; *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* IV:6–7, p. 20; letter of [April 1200]: *Fontes Historiae Latviae Medii Aevi*, ed. A. Švābe, 2 vols (Riga, 1937–40), vol. 1, no. 31; letter of 19 April

Holy Father . . . as you have not ceased to cherish the Holy Land of Jerusalem, the country of the Son, with your Holiness' care, so also you ought not abandon Livonia, the Land of the Mother, which had hitherto been among the pagans and far from the cares of your consolation and is now again desolate. For the Son loves his Mother, and, as He would not care to lose His own land, so, too, He would not care to endanger His Mother's land.¹⁹

Henry hereby made Albert create a parallel between the crusades to the Holy Land, the land of Christ, and Livonia, the land of Christ's mother, which probably reflected the missionary bishops' attempts to turn Livonia into a centre for pilgrimage and to have the Livonian campaigns equated with the crusades in aid of Jerusalem. The idea of Livonia as the land, or dowry, of the Virgin Mary reflects the growing reverence for Mary whose cult had become increasingly popular in the twelfth century.²⁰ It should also be linked to the fact that the episcopal cathedral in Riga, along with all of Livonia, had been dedicated by Bishop Albert to Mary upon the transferral of the episcopal see from Üxküll to Riga in 1201 or 1202.²¹ The idea was a theme often used in Henry's chronicle. Henry later describes how the Christians fought under the banner of Mary,

1201: M. Maccarrone, "I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia", in *Gli inizi del christianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Storia Ecclesiastica in Occasione dell'VIII Centenario della Chiesa in Livonia* [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche. Atti e Documenti I] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1989), pp. 78–80; *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* VII:3, p. 28; letter of 12 October [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 139; letters of 20 October 1210: *LEC*, vol. 1, nos 16–17; *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XV:4, p. 136; letter of 25 January 1212: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 24; letter of 10 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 27; letters of 11 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, nos 28–31; letters of 30 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, nos 32–4; letters of 31 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, nos 35–6; letter of 2 November 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 37; letter of 20 February 1214: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 26 (but see *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols (Berlin, 1874–5), no. 4899, for the dating of the letter); *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XIX:5, p. 188, and XIX:7, p. 196; letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

¹⁹ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XIX:7, p. 196, translated in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, transl. J. A. Brundage, 2nd edition (New York, 2003), p. 152.

²⁰ H. Graef, *Mary. A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2 vols (London: Sheed and Ward, 1963 and 1965), vol. 1, pp. 210–64; C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 464–5.

²¹ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* VI:3, pp. 22–4. The Augustinian house of Segeberg from where the first bishop of Livonia, Meinhard, came, was also dedicated to Mary (P. Johansen, "Die Chronik as Biographie. Heinrich von Lettlands Lebensgang und Weltanschauung", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* Neue Folge 1:1 (1953), p. 19).

an idea presumably originating with the Church and the bishop and strengthened by the alleged papal approval in 1215 of the idea of Livonia as the land of Mary.²²

It is clear from the descriptions in Henry's chronicle that Bishop Albert in his contacts with the curia often chose to appeal directly to Rome, bypassing his metropolitan, the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, whose position became undermined by a dispute over the election of a new archbishop.²³ This dispute, which was bound up with the German imperial struggle, paralysed the Hamburg-Bremen province for several years, and in 1214 Albert obtained letters declaring that his see, along with the Estonian see, should not be subjugated to any metropolitan jurisdiction.²⁴

The Danes now began seeking papal authorization for their activities against the pagans in the Baltic. Prior to the expedition to the island of Ösel in 1206, Archbishop Anders Sunesen received permission from the curia to consecrate a bishop in an unspecified town conquered from the pagans, and in 1209 King Valdemar II was given papal sanction of an expedition planned for 1210, obtaining an indulgence and papal protection for himself and the participants.²⁵ There is, as was discussed above, no indication that Danish kings previously had applied for such papal authorization of their campaigns and this therefore marks a new stage in the Danish kings' policy. The Danes seem to have begun to view their expeditions against the pagans as being of the same mould as the crusades to the Holy Land and to apply not only for papal authorization of their

²² *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXV:2, p. 268. For the use of the cult of Mary in Livonia, Prussia and the Iberian Peninsula and by the military orders and the Cistercians, see R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 900–1350* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), Chapter 11.

²³ After Archbishop Hartwig II's death in 1207 the majority of the chapter of Bremen voted for Valdemar, the Danish king's cousin and rival to the throne. After complaints from both the chapter and the Danish king, the pope attempted to settle the matter, but Valdemar broke the agreement and was excommunicated. In 1210 Bishop Gerhard of Osnabrück was chosen as the new archbishop (G. Glaeske, *Die Erzbischöfe von Hamburg-Bremen als Reichsfürsten (937–1258)* [*Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens* 60] (Hildesheim: August Lax Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), pp. 208–13).

²⁴ Letter of 20 February 1214: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 26, but see *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, no. 4899, for the dating of the letter. See below, pp. 124–6.

²⁵ Letter of 13 January [1206]: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 109; three letters of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, nos 162–4; letter of 7 May 1210: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 173.

enterprises, but also for the privileges enjoyed by crusaders going to the Holy Land.²⁶

This new development was very likely due to the influence of Archbishop Anders who appears to have been a central figure in the formulation of the Danish crusading policy. He took a strong personal interest in mission. Henry of Livonia reported that during his stay in Riga in the winter of 1206–7 Anders gave instruction in theology and instigated the dispatch of priests to preach among the pagans.²⁷ Likewise, after participating in the conquest of Estonia in 1219, Anders seems to have stayed on in northern Estonia for almost two years, until 1221,²⁸ which again shows a wish to be actively involved in organizing the conversion of the pagans in the conquered region. His efforts did not go unnoticed by the curia: in a letter of April 1212, Innocent praised Anders's ongoing dedication to the missionary cause.²⁹ His interest in preaching and involvement in mission among the pagans may have been inspired by the new ideas of pastoral care picked up while studying abroad.³⁰ Commencing his studies sometime in the early 1180s, he had studied in France, Italy and England, mainly receiving his education in Paris, and stayed abroad studying and teaching until the early 1190s.³¹ Pastoral theology and popular preaching were at that time beginning to experience a revival in the schools of Paris which became the centre for

²⁶ It is not known whether similar petitions had been sent prior to the 1206 expedition; no petitions or papal replies have survived. Henry (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* X:13, p. 62) stated that Anders had preached and granted remission of sins which would indicate this, but his information cannot be corroborated.

²⁷ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* X:13–14, pp. 62–4.

²⁸ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIII:2, pp. 230–2.

²⁹ Letter of 4 April 1212: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 13.

³⁰ See T. K. Nielsen, "The Missionary Man: Archbishop Anders Sunesen and the Baltic Crusade, 1206–21", in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 117. Arnold of Lübeck described Anders as a great preacher who inspired audiences everywhere (*Chronica Slavorum*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, [*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit*] (Hannover, 1868), V:18, p. 174).

³¹ Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. P. Zeeberg and K. Friis-Jensen, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 2005), Praefatio:1:2, vol. 1, p. 72; B. M. Olsen, "Anders Sunesen og Paris", in *Anders Sunesen—stormand, teolog, administrator, digter*, ed. S. Ebbesen (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1985), pp. 85–6 and Nielsen, "The Missionary Man", p. 117. See also M. H. Gelting, "Danmark—en del af Europa", in *Middelalderens Danmark. Kultur og samfund fra trosskifte til reformation*, ed. P. Ingesman et al. (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 1999), pp. 341–2.

the exploration of these ideas.³² Soon a new emphasis on the instruction and discipline of the Christians could be discerned in what has been termed ‘the pastoral revolution’. This reflects a new interest in the religious faith, and salvation, of ordinary lay people and involved new emphasis on the instruction of the laity in Christian belief and conduct, ideas which also found great resonance with Pope Innocent III and were reflected in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council.³³ Although these ideas were still at an early stage when Anders studied at Paris, they could have influenced him; among his possible inspirations was Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) whose teaching had a definite pastoral orientation and perhaps also inspired Innocent III.³⁴

Anders may also have taken a strong interest in the crusades and may have been well informed of how they were organized. He belonged to the most influential magnate family in Denmark at the time, which had strong ties to the crusades to the Holy Land. Several of his paternal relatives had supported the Danish contingent participating in the Third Crusade and his brother, Johannes, died whilst on crusade in the Holy Land around 1200.³⁵ His nephew, Jens Ebbesen, was to maintain the family tradition for crusading in the Holy Land and died at Acre in 1232.³⁶ During his years in Paris, Anders must have witnessed the preparations there for the Third Crusade. The French King Philip Augustus had taken the cross in 1188 and embarked on crusade after a grand ceremony in the church of Saint-Denis in June 1190.³⁷ His impending crusade must have

³² C. T. Maier, *Preaching the crusades. Mendicant friars and the cross in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 112; D. L. D’Avray, *The Preachings of the Friars. Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 22–5 and p. 62.

³³ See for instance Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 189–227; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 489–91.

³⁴ J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants. The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), vol. 1, p. 343 and *passim*; D’Avray, *The Preachings of the Friars*, pp. 23–6. See also pp. 121–2 below.

³⁵ ‘De Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam’, ed. M. C. Gertz, in *Scriptores Minores Historiæ Danicæ Mediæ Ævi*, ed. M. C. Gertz, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 1970), vol. 2, pp. 465–70; letter of [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 257; K. Horby, ‘Anders Sunesens liv’, in *Anders Sunesen—stormand, teolog, administrator, digter*, ed. S. Ebbesen (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1985), p. 18.

³⁶ ‘Dansk-svenske annaler 916–1263’, ed. E. Kroman, in *Danmarks Middelalderlige Annaler*, ed. E. Kroman (Copenhagen, 1980), *sub anno* 1232, p. 15; see also letter of 1232: *DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 145.

³⁷ Olsen, ‘Anders Sunesen og Paris’, p. 77; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 110.

been debated throughout the schools of Paris, and Anders is likely to have been aware of the preparations made for it.

Anders was well versed in the working of the curia and thereby had the experience required for entering into close interaction with it. In the early 1190s, as *magister* of theology, he had returned to Denmark, eventually taking up the post as royal chancellor,³⁸ and in 1194 he was entrusted, together with Abbot William of Æbelholt, with the task of arguing the Danish case in the marital dispute between King Philip Augustus and the Danish Princess Ingeborg at the curia.³⁹ This stay in Rome would have given him both personal and professional contacts. He could have met Lothar of Segni, later Innocent III, who had been appointed cardinal deacon of SS Sergius and Bacchus in 1189 or 1190 by Pope Clement III and often was at the curia, as is evidenced by his appearance as witness in most of the papal privileges issued between 1191 and 1197.⁴⁰ He is likely to have met Cencius, later Pope Honorius III, who at the time was not only head of the papal chancery, but also led the papal chancellery *de facto* in the years 1194–7, during the negotiations of the marital case.⁴¹ He may have met envoys not only from Spain and the Holy Land, but also from the missionary bishop in Livonia. He may have discussed the papal stance on the crusades against various enemies of the Church with curial officials and would most likely

³⁸ Olsen, “Anders Sunesen og Paris”, pp. 76–77; Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* Præfatio:1:2, vol. 1, pp. 72–4.

³⁹ Hørby, “Anders Sunesens liv”, p. 20. Such use of the Paris-educated *magistri* as royal envoys was common at the time (J. W. Baldwin, “Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective”, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 156). During the proceedings Anders met Peter the Chanter who was commissioned as papal judge delegate (Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, p. 8; *DD*, vol. 1:3, *Epistole abbatis Willelmi*, Lib. II, ep. XLV).

⁴⁰ W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216. Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), pp. 364–76; J. Sayers, *Innocent III. Leader of Europe 1198–1216* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 23. Anders may in fact already have known Lothar from his studies at Bologna or, perhaps more likely, in Paris (Olsen, “Anders Sunesen og Paris”, p. 93; Hørby, “Anders Sunesens liv”, p. 19).

⁴¹ I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198. Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 97. See Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg*, pp. 111–13 for Cencius’s career and background. Anders certainly met Honorius in the late spring of 1216, when Honorius (as Cencius) helped him obtain letters (of [May–June 1216]: *DD*, vol. 1:5, nos 75–6); in 1217 Honorius stated his affection for Anders which stemmed from their previous encounters (letter of 25 January 1217: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 102).

have become aware of the interaction between local kings and bishops and the curia in the setting up of crusades. Anders maintained frequent contact with the curia after his return to Denmark and his election as archbishop in 1201. Striving to regulate the Danish Church and streamline it in accordance with instructions given by the curia, he used the curia very intensively and consulted the pope on a great many matters, including ecclesiastical and canon law.⁴² Anders was thus the instigator of closer ties between the curia and Denmark and invited greater papal influence and authority over Danish ecclesiastical affairs. His stay in Riga in 1206–7 must have made him aware of the Livonian bishops' successful petitions to the curia. The report on the situation in Livonia which Anders sent to the curia after his stay in Riga certainly shows that he recognized the importance of involving the pope in the mission and expeditions there.⁴³

So, owing to his family's involvement in the crusades to the Holy Land, his stay in Paris and experience gained in Rome, Anders was well aware of the crusading ideas, the preparations and organization of a royal crusade and the interaction between the curia and the leaders of the crusades. This could have inspired him to persuade the Danish king to seek papal confirmation of his wars against the pagans and have given him the necessary knowledge to implement this new royal policy. The opening lines of a letter of 1206 to Anders may suggest that he had presented the planned expedition to Ösel as an attempt "to punish injustice against Christianity", "*de christiani nominis iniuria vindicanda*", and if this insertion indeed is a quotation from Anders's letter, it implies that he had a knowledge of the terminology often used in crusading letters and had described the planned campaign using such terms.⁴⁴

⁴² Hørby, "Anders Sunesens liv", pp. 20–1. See also A. Perron, "Rome and Lund, 1178–1274: A Study in the Church History of a Medieval Fringe" (unpublished Ph.D thesis. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002), pp. 187–251.

⁴³ See above p. 82 with note 14.

⁴⁴ The letter reads: "*Cum de christiani nominis iniuria vindicanda iuste ac pie cogitans ex religioso mentis proposito contra paganos decreueris proficisci; auctoritate tibi presentium indulgemus. ut in ciuitate quam paganorum eliminata spurcicia Christo iuuante poteris ad cultum fidei christiane redigere. catholicum ualeas episcopum ordinare. Nulli ergo . . .*": letter of 13 January [1206]: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 109. Similar terms were used by Innocent III in letters regarding the Holy Land, for instance in: letter of [1 February–10 February 1198]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 1, no. 13; *Post miserabile* of 15 August [1198]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 1, no. 336; letter of [c. 20 June 1203]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 6, no. 101; letter of 10 December 1208: *PL*, vol. 215, cols 1500–3; letter of

The many petitions from Denmark and the Livonian mission resulted in a series of letters of which five are of particular interest for an analysis of Innocent's policy on the Baltic because they promised an indulgence for participation in the fight against the pagans or allowed commutation of vows from the Holy Land to the Baltic. Three of these concern the Livonian mission: *Sicut ecclesiastice religionis* of 5 October 1199, issued to the Christians of Saxony and Westphalia and to the inhabitants of the lands of the Wends and in the region beyond the Elbe; *Etsi verba evangelizantium* of 12 October 1204; and *Alto diuine* of December 1215.⁴⁵ The latter has survived in a version addressed to the Christians in Denmark, and it has hitherto not been known whether it also was issued to other church provinces, but one indication that it was is found in a letter of February 1217 from Pope Honorius III to Archbishop Henry of Gnesen. In this, Honorius referred to letters he had received from the bishops of the province of Gnesen and repeated their complaints about the persecutions suffered by the Christians in the region; as part of this description which must be based on the letter from the bishops, the opening words of Innocent's letter of December 1215 are inserted, almost verbatim, along with a passage from the *arenga* of the letter of December 1215.⁴⁶ This suggests that in December 1215 Innocent also sent copies of *Alto diuine* to the province of Gnesen, and that its bishops incorporated, in a slightly altered form, part of this letter when they wrote to the new pope to secure his support in 1217.

Two other letters concerning the Danish king's activities are of great importance in an examination of Innocent's policy. They were

[April-May 1213]: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 30 (also sent to the Swedish archbishop: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, no. 4724).

⁴⁵ Letter of 5 October [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 254; letter of 12 October [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 139; letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

⁴⁶ "... quod alto diuine dispositionis consilio agitur ut conuersi ad Deum persecutionum angustias patiantur, quatenus se totos interius colligentes suam imbecillitatem agnoscant et in conspectu Dei humiliant semetipsos...": letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica seu ejusdem temporis Patrologia ab anno MCCXVI usque ad Concilii Tridentini tempora*, ed. C. A. Horoy, 6 vols (Paris, 1879–80), vol. 2, no. 220. "*Alto diuine dispositionis consilio agitur/ ut conuersi ad deum persecuciones sustineant... Ad hoc ergo dominus qui mala non permitteret fieri nisi elceret inde bonum suos exterius tribulari permittit ut se totos interius colligentes suam imbecillitatem cognoscant et in conspectu dei humiliantes se ipsos ab eo auxilium prestolentur...*": letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

both issued on 31 October 1209 when the pope in the letter *Suggestor scelerum serpens* approved King Valdemar's plans for an expedition against the pagans and in an accompanying and almost identical letter addressed to all Danes exhorted them to follow their king on his campaign.⁴⁷

These letters can all be assumed to be responses to requests from the Baltic region. The letter of 1199 is generally believed to have been written in response to requests from Bishop Albert.⁴⁸ The letter of 1204 explicitly states that it is given in response to petitions from Bishop Albert, just as the letter of 1209 to the Danish king mentions the Danish king's proposition about a crusade.⁴⁹ The letter of December 1215 was written just after the Fourth Lateran Council which Bishop Albert is known to have attended.⁵⁰ The letter was issued on 29 December 1215, the feast day of Charlemagne, who was by now a venerated crusading saint in Germany, which may indicate—if the day was chosen by Albert—that Albert intended to use the cult of Charlemagne in his recruitment campaign in Germany for a new crusade to Livonia. This cannot have been on Innocent's initiative, as Charlemagne had been canonized by the anti-pope, Paschal III (1164–8), and was only later to be recognised as a saint by the Roman curia.

Innocent III and the Baltic crusades

The justification for the campaigns in the Baltic

The letters show that Innocent identified two tasks in the Baltic: *dilatatio*, conversion of the infidels and expansion of the Christian faith, and *defensio*, defence of the newly converted against attacks from their pagan neighbours. This last task was the just cause in support of which the pope called upon Christians from western Europe to set out.

⁴⁷ Letters of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, nos 162–3.

⁴⁸ Thus for instance Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 17–18, and Barbara Bombi in a paper at the conference on 'The Military Orders. History and Heritage' in London, September 2000.

⁴⁹ Letter of 12 October [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 139; letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162.

⁵⁰ Albert's visit to Rome is described by Henry of Livonia (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XIX:7, p. 196). See also Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, p. 71.

In the letters concerning the Livonian mission Innocent stressed that the campaigns were to be fought in defence of the new mission. In *Sicut ecclesiastice religionis* of October 1199 the task given the laymen was simply “to defend the Livonian Church”, “*ad defendendam Liuonensem ecclesiam*”; this defensive purpose was stressed throughout, and it was suggested that it was necessary to defend the newly converted in order to avoid apostasy.⁵¹ Innocent took care to emphasise that force could only be used in defence of the newly converted and that conversion of the infidel in Livonia must be voluntary—just as he had stressed a few weeks earlier with regard to the conversion of Jews.⁵² The opening lines of his letter read: “As Christian law does not allow that those who are unwilling should be forced to take the faith . . .”.⁵³ Innocent accepted that violence could be necessary in defence of the newly converted, but stressed that a peaceful solution should be sought: only if the pagans would not agree to, and keep, a peace agreement could the Christians resort to violence in defence of the converts. Innocent mentioned the peaceful missionary work by Meinhard, but he did not refer to the programme of forceful conversion which had resulted from Celestine III’s letters. Innocent is likely to have known these letters, and his lack of references to them suggests, as has been pointed out by Barbara Bombi, that he disapproved of his predecessor’s policy and the subsequent campaigns in Livonia.⁵⁴ This would not have been the only case in which he disagreed with Celestine’s policy.⁵⁵ A few

⁵¹ “*Ne igitur nostre negligentie ualeat imputari. si hii qui iam crediderunt retro cogantur abire. ne presumant aliqui fidem nostram recipere si illi qui iam receperunt a paganorum incursibus remanserint indefensi uniuersitatem uestram monemus et exhortamur. attentius. in remissionem uobis peccaminum iniungentes. quatinus nisi pagani circa Liuonensem ecclesiam constituti cum christianis treugas inire uolerint. et initas obseruarint. ad defensionem christianorum. qui sunt in partibus illis potenter et uiriliter in nomine dei exercituum assurgatis*”: letter of 5 October [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 254.

⁵² Letter of 5 October [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 254; letter of 15 September 1199: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 2, no. 276; Barbara Bombi in a paper at the conference on ‘Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology’ in Rome, January 2001.

⁵³ “*Sicut ecclesiastice religionis censura compelli non patitur ad credendum inuitos . . .*”: letter of 5 October [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 254.

⁵⁴ Barbara Bombi in a paper at the conference on ‘Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology’ in Rome, January 2001.

⁵⁵ K. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops. The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), p. 11; V. Pfaff, “Der Vorgänger: Das Wirken Coelestins III. aus der Sicht von Innocenz III.”, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* LX (1974), especially pp. 155–7.

years later, in 1204, when Innocent again wrote in support of the mission in Livonia, the task given the men going to Livonia was again the defence of the new Church.⁵⁶ When in 1215 he urged Christians to go to Livonia, he ordered them to “go out in aid of [the newly converted] against the barbarians to fight for the new plantation of the Christian faith with both spiritual and temporal weapons”.⁵⁷ The letter speaks of the persecutions suffered by the new converts from the pagans, a theme which is explored in both the *arenga* and the *narratio* of the letter, and it is thus implied that the fighters were mainly to defend the new converts, although this is stated less clearly than in the letter of 1199. Here the pope appears once more to have envisioned the laymen going to the Baltic to act in a defensive rather than aggressive role towards the pagans. He was thus generally careful to ensure that a just cause, the defence of the new Church, was given in accordance with canon law for the papally authorized campaigns in aid of the Livonian mission.

But when in 1209 Innocent approved the Danish king’s plans for an expedition in the Baltic, he entrusted the king with the task of converting the pagans. He encouraged the king to “gird [himself] manfully to root out the error of paganism and spread the bounds of the Christian faith”.⁵⁸ This choice of words, along with the letter’s call to, as in the parable in the gospel, “compel the feeble and infirm, the blind and the lame to come in to the wedding feast of the highest king”,⁵⁹ shows how Innocent in his letter to the Danish king came close to accepting a missionary war in the Baltic. There was no suggestion in Innocent’s letter that this was a campaign aimed at apostates. On the contrary, the pope spoke of those who were “ignorant” of their Creator.⁶⁰ The *arenga* alluded to the persecution

⁵⁶ Letter of 12 October [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 7, no. 139.

⁵⁷ “. . . in eorundem accedant auxilium contra barbaras naciones pro plantatione nouella fidei christiane tam spiritualibus armis quam materialibus pugnaturi . . .”: letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

⁵⁸ “. . . ad extirpandum paganitatis errorem et terminos christiane fidei dilatandos; uiriliter te accingas . . .”: letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162; see also Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III.*, p. 205.

⁵⁹ “. . . debiles et infirmos cecos et claudos ad nuptias summi regis intrare compellas . . .”: letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162; Luke 14:13.

⁶⁰ “. . . penitus ignorantes reuerantiam exhibent creature quam deberent impendere creatori . . .”: letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162.

of Christians,⁶¹ thereby suggesting that the royal campaign was a defensive one, but this justification was not carried on into the *dispositio*. The letter of 1209 is thus quite unlike the other letters of Innocent concerning the expeditions to the Baltic region in its identification of the purposes of the expedition.

The indulgence and temporal privileges for the campaigns in the Baltic

Several of Innocent's letters concerning the Baltic region granted participants in the campaigns a spiritual reward. In *Sicut ecclesiastice religionis* of October 1199 Innocent granted the participants remission of sins for their efforts and furthermore allowed those who had vowed to visit Rome to commute this vow to go to Livonia instead.⁶² With *Etsi verba evangelizantium* of October 1204 he allowed priests who had taken a vow to go to the Holy Land to work on the Livonian mission instead and permitted laymen who due to poverty or bad health could not go to the Holy Land—and hence could not be employed in aid of the Holy Land anyway—to go to Livonia to

⁶¹ “The old serpent, the suggester of crimes, who as a lion always seeking whom he may devour, swallows up a river and does not wonder, trusting that the Jordan may run into his mouth, has blinded certain people, who ought to be compared to the senseless asses they resemble, to such an extent that, completely ignoring their maker who clothed them in skin and flesh, and after assembling their nerves and bones gave them life and mercy, they show to a creature the reverence they owe their creator and damnably adhere to the worship of idols. They hold in contempt those who profess the Christian name and persecute as evildoers those who preach the word of God to them”, “*Suggestor scelerum serpens antiquus qui semper querens quem deuoret tamquam leo. absorbet fluuium nec miratur. habens fiduciam quod Iordanis influat in os eius. quosdam iumentis insipientibus quibus uere sunt similes comparandos adeo excecauit. quod factorem suum qui pelle ac carnibus illos uestit. nervisque compactis et ossibus uitam et misericordiam eis dedit. penitus ignorantes reuerentiam exhibent creature quam deberent impendere creatori. et dampnabiliter ydolorum cultibus inherentes. christiani nominis professores abhorrent. eosque qui sibi predicant uerbum dei tamquam maleficos persecuntur*”: letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162; translated in L. Riley-Smith and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 77–8.

⁶² “. . . in remissionem uobis peccaminum iniungentes. . . . Nos autem omnibus de partibus uestris qui sanctorum limina uisitare uouerunt. presentium auctoritate concedimus. ut in uoti commutatione emissi. in defensionem Liouensis ecclesie ad partes illas pro reuerentia nominis christiani procedant”: letter of 5 October [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 254. It is probable that Albert had, as argued by Pitz (*Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 18–19), asked for a full crusade indulgence. If Celestine III's letter of 1197 had indeed allowed for commutation of vows from the Holy Land to the Baltic, as suggested above, this would have set a precedent for such commutation practice, but if so, Innocent chose not to allow this.

fight the pagans, thus commuting their vows, presumably with the full indulgence.⁶³ In *Alto diuine* of December 1215 he urged those Christians who due to ill health or poverty could not go to the Holy Land and thus had not so far taken any crusading vows, to go to Livonia to defend the newly converted there for the remission of their sins, “*in remissionem peccatorum*”.⁶⁴ The pope added that an indulgence would be given not only to those who personally went to Livonia, but also to those who contributed financially, “*concessa eis qui subuenerint in personis aut rebus indulgentia peccatorum*”, thereby for the first time in his pontificate extending the circle of recipients of indulgence related to the Baltic crusades.⁶⁵ The indulgence granted to participants in the campaigns in defence of the Livonian mission was thus an unspecified, partial indulgence. That the letter of 1204 allowed commutation of vows for the Holy Land to vows for Livonia with the full indulgence does not imply that the indulgence granted for the Baltic crusades henceforth was to be the same as the indulgence granted to the Holy Land. The letter states explicitly that this was

⁶³ Letter of 12 October [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 139. This letter does not grant indulgences to participants in general, as the main purpose is not to authorize an expedition to the Baltic lands. See Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 26–8, who argues that Innocent III may have issued a now lost letter related to this.

⁶⁴ Letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61. This is clearly not a case of commutation of vows, but relates to those who have not yet taken any vows: “. . . *plures existant qui tum debilitate uirum tum rerum defectu non audent suis humeris affigere signum crucis in terre sancte subsidium profecturi*...”. This is also indicated in that there is no mentioning of vows; vows are usually mentioned in letters dealing with commutation: see thus letter of 5 October [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 254; letter of 12 October [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 139; letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 220; letter of 6 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkunden-Sammlung zur ältern Geschichte Preussens aus dem königlichen Geheimen Archiv zu Königsberg nebst Regesten*, ed. J. Voigt et al. 6 vols (Königsberg, 1836–61), vol. 1, no. 3. Yet another letter, of 8 January 1216 addressed to the province of Hamburg-Bremen (*Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg and H. Nirnheim, 4 vols (Hamburg, 1842–1967), vol. 1, no. 394), could have resulted in recruits for Livonia. It was addressed to those who had vowed to go to the Holy Land, but allowed the vows of ‘the less able’ to be commuted, redeemed or deferred. Some of those eligible for this may have used this permission to commute their vow from the Holy Land to Livonia.

⁶⁵ Roscher (*Papst Innocenz III.*, p. 205) states that “*indulgentia*” for Innocent III was a specific term for crusading indulgence, but this does not seem to be the case: he also used this term when granting indulgences for visits to certain churches (see for instance letter of 21 July 1208: *PL*, vol. 215: cols 1435–7; N. Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1922–3), vol. I, p. 175).

a case of “*voto in votum de nostra licentia commutato*”, and the case referred only to people who already had taken a vow and already had been granted an indulgence which the pope subsequently could not or did not want to reduce; it was not a case of offering a new indulgence to people who were about to join the campaigns in the Baltic.

Participants in the royal Danish expeditions were also granted only an unspecified, partial indulgence. When on 31 October 1209 the pope approved the Danish King Valdemar’s plans for a campaign against the pagans, he granted him remission of sins, and in an accompanying letter addressed to all Danes he awarded those who participated in this royal expedition the same remission of their sins. Both were termed simply “*remissionem . . . peccatorum*”.⁶⁶

The indulgence granted to participants in expeditions to the Baltic was thus consistently remission of sins, “*remissio peccatorum*”. In contrast, the indulgence granted to crusaders defending the Holy Land was far more wide-ranging, both in its penitential content and in the group of people it encompassed. As early as 1198, Innocent developed a new indulgence formula which was first seen in his call for the Fourth Crusade, *Post miserabile*. Here he granted crusaders a plenary indulgence, “*plena venia peccatorum*”, and constructed a new formula which contained the indulgence and specified who was to receive this. He used this formula in his letters on crusades to the Holy Land with only minor changes throughout his pontificate.⁶⁷ It found its final form in *Ad liberandam*, the decree on crusades from the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 where the indulgence and the list of its recipients was formulated as follows:

And so we, trusting in the mercy of almighty God and the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, by that power of binding and loosing that God has conferred upon us, although unworthy, grant to all those submitting to the labour personally [and] at their own expense full forgiveness of their sins, of which they freely make oral confession

⁶⁶ Letters of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, nos 162–3.

⁶⁷ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 121. It is seen in *Post miserabile* of 15 August [1198]: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 1, no. 336; *Graves orientalis* of 31 December [1199]: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 2, no. 258; *Nisi nobis* of 4 January [1200]: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 2, no. 259; *Utinam dominus* of 10 December 1208: *PL*, vol. 215, cols 1500–3; *Quia major* of [19–29] April 1213: ‘Urkundenbeilage’, pp. 88–97; and in *Ad liberandam* of 30 November 1215: *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo et al. (Basel, 1962), pp. 243–7. See also Chapter Three, p. 140, note 24.

with contrite hearts, and as the reward of the just we promise them a greater share of eternal salvation. To those who do not personally campaign, but at least send out suitable men at their own expense according to their means and station in life and similarly to those who go personally although at another's expense we concede full forgiveness of their sins. We also wish and concede that all should share in this remission of sins who, according to the quality of their aid and the depth of their devotion, donate a fitting proportion of their goods to the aid of the Holy Land or lend suitable counsel and aid.⁶⁸

So a plenary indulgence was given not only to those who themselves went on crusades, but also to those who sent men in their place, and to those who at another's expense went as another's substitute; an, albeit partial, indulgence was also given to those who supported the crusades financially.

Innocent never applied the new plenary indulgence formula to the Baltic crusades. He granted a plenary indulgence to other crusades, such as that in Spain, that in southern France and that against Markward of Anweiler, usually stating explicitly that crusaders were to enjoy the same indulgence as that given to crusaders serving in aid of the Holy Land.⁶⁹ But he simply granted the participants in the Baltic expedition a traditional and more limited remission of sins. Popes granted indulgences as a recruiting device, an incentive to make participation in the strenuous expeditions in the service of the Church attractive, but they were not issued lightly. A greater indulgence was a greater reward, and the hierarchy of indulgences must thus reflect a hierarchy in the penitential deeds for which they were

⁶⁸ *Ad liberandam* of 30 November 1215: *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, pp. 243–7: “*Nos igitur omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa quam nobis, licet indigne, Deus ligandi atque solvendi contulit potestate, omnibus qui laborem propriis personis subierent et expensis, plenam suorum peccaminum, de quibus liberaliter fuerint corde contriti et ore confessi, veniam indulgemus, et in retributione iustorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum; eis autem, qui non in personis propriis illuc accesserint, sed in suis dumtaxat expensis iuxta facultatem et qualitatem suam viros idoneos destinarint, et illis similiter, qui licet in alienis expensis, in propriis tamen personis accesserint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum. Huius quoque remissionis volumus et concedimus esse participes, iuxta qualitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum, omnes qui ad subventionem ipsius Terrae de bonis suis congrue ministrabant, aut consilium et auxilium impenderint opportunum*”. Translated in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality*, p. 129.

⁶⁹ For instance, when Innocent in November 1199 proclaimed a crusade against Markward of Anweiler, he gave crusaders here the same indulgence as those going to the Holy Land “. . . *illam concedimus veniam peccatorum, quam in defensionem terre orientalis transfretantibus indulgemus*”: letter of 24 November [1199]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 2, no. 212.

given. That the popes themselves saw indulgences as a means to control the crusaders, to direct men towards specific targets, was demonstrated when they decided to withdraw or revoke them. In 1213 Innocent wanted all men to focus on the Holy Land and hence revoked indulgences granted to Spain and France.⁷⁰ The granting of only a partial indulgence to participants in the Baltic campaigns implies that the expedition had a low priority with Innocent.

Innocent did not try to ensure wider support for Baltic expeditions by offering those contributing to such undertakings financially or by sending others in their place an indulgence, such as he did for the crusades to the Holy Land. Here only those actively participating in the expeditions were rewarded with the remission of sins. The only exception to this is found in *Alto diuine* of 29 December 1215 which extended the indulgence to those supporting the expeditions to Livonia financially,⁷¹ perhaps reflecting the general debate at the Fourth Lateran Council about financing crusades.

An important temporal privilege enjoyed by crusaders was papal protection while on crusade. Innocent consistently gave such protection to crusaders and their goods in all his letters concerning the Holy Land. This privilege was, however, used inconsistently with regard to the Baltic expeditions. Papal protection was granted to those going to Livonia in 1199, but not in 1215, and in 1199 the protection only covered the persons of the participants, not their goods. When Innocent approved the Danish king's plans for a crusade in 1209, no mention was made of papal protection for any of the participants. After new petitions from Valdemar, Innocent did grant him this privilege in May 1210, but he did not extend the protection to other, lowlier participants in the expedition.⁷² He did not, therefore, have a fixed policy on the granting of privileges to participants in the Baltic crusades, and none of the other temporal privileges bestowed upon crusaders going to the Holy Land was granted to participants in the Baltic expeditions.

⁷⁰ Letter of [19–29] April 1213: 'Urkundenbeilage', pp. 88–97.

⁷¹ Letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

⁷² Letter of 7 May 1210: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 173.

The taking of vows

Some of Innocent's letters refer to participants taking vows to join the campaigns in the Baltic. Two of these concern commutation of vows. The letter of 5 October 1199 allowed those who had taken a vow to go on pilgrimage to Rome to commute this to go to Livonia⁷³ and the letter of 12 October 1204 allowed commutation of vows from the Holy Land to Livonia.⁷⁴ Furthermore, when Innocent in 1210 replied to the Danish king's request for papal protection during his campaign, the pope described the king as having taken the sign of the cross, "*signo crucis assumpto*".⁷⁵ This suggests that Innocent assumed that participants in the Baltic undertakings took vows before joining the campaigns. According to Henry of Livonia's account of Pope Celestine III's letters concerning the Livonian campaigns, these letters also referred to participants taking the cross, suggesting, if Henry can be trusted, that Celestine also assumed so.⁷⁶ That is the case also for Innocent's successors who in their letters often referred to participants in the Baltic campaigns as "*crucesignati*" and allowed commutation of vows to the Baltic campaigns.

It is impossible to ascertain how widespread this practice in fact was. Only a few sources mention the taking of vows for the Baltic campaigns. As mentioned above, in his description of the Danish response to Eugenius III's call for a crusade against the Slavs in 1147, Saxo, writing around 1200, stated that "The Danes did not wish to disregard their duties to the Church because of their own warfare, and thus they took upon them the sign of the holy pilgrimage and fulfilled their duty".⁷⁷ Furthermore, an entry in the

⁷³ "*Nos autem omnibus de partibus uestris qui sanctorum limina uisitare uouerunt. presentium auctoritate concedimus. ut in uoti commutatione emissi. in defensionem Liuonensis ecclesie ad partes illas pro reuerentia nominis christiani procedant*": letter of 5 October [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 254.

⁷⁴ "*At, cum messis sit multa, operarii uero pauci, a nobis idem episcopus humiliter postulauit, ut sacerdotes et clericos circumadiacentium regionum, qui, affixo suis humeris signo crucis, uouerunt Ierosolymam proficisci, in messem ipsius ad annuntiaandum gentibus Iesum Christum mittere dignaremur, et nihilominus laicos, qui, propter rerum defectum et corporum debilitatem terram Ierosolymitanam adire non possunt, permitteremus in Livoniam contra barbaros proficisci, voto in uotum de nostra licentia commutato*": letter of 12 October [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 139.

⁷⁵ Letter of 7 May 1210: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 173.

⁷⁶ *Henrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:12, p. 10, and II:3, p. 12. See Chapter One, p. 68.

⁷⁷ "*Ne ergo Dani priuate militiae rebus publice religionis officia detrectarent, sumptis sacre*

Liber daticus Lundensis vetustior which probably also relates to the Second Crusade stated that “*Asmundus et Godmundus, illustres laici, apud Slavos sub signo sancte crucis occisi sunt*”.⁷⁸ Finally, several times in his chronicle Henry of Livonia referred to participants in the campaigns in aid of the Livonian mission between the late 1190s and 1227 as having taken the cross.⁷⁹ No further references to the taking of vows have been found in the non-papal source material from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nothing is known about the form of the vow or the ceremony in which the cross was taken. Nor is it known whether all campaigns conducted in the Baltic included the taking of the vows in their preparation and whether all participants did so.⁸⁰

Papal attempts at organizing the preaching and recruitment for the campaigns in the Baltic region

Innocent introduced new measures for the preaching of the crusades in aid of the Holy Land, thereby facilitating and ensuring firmer papal control over the recruitment of crusaders. He combined the systems previously employed of special agents and local clergy by appointing local prelates as his representatives. When proclaiming the Fourth Crusade in 1198, he appointed two local men of the higher clergy in each province to preach the crusade along with a Templar and a Hospitaller. This system was repeated in 1208 when he (unsuccessfully) attempted to promote a new crusade in France, Lombardy and the March of Ancona. The launch in 1213 of the Fifth Crusade brought about further developments in the preaching: Innocent orchestrated a system whereby small groups of men, mainly bishops, were appointed in each church province to preach the crusade. The task and powers of these men were well defined and well

peregrinationis insignibu imperium amplectuntur”: Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* XIV:3:5, vol. 2, p. 160.

⁷⁸ *Libri memoriales capituli Lundensis. Lunde Domkapitels Gaveboger*, ed. C. Weeke (Copenhagen, 1884–9), *sub II. Non. Augusti* (4 August), p. 195. See Chapter One, p. 46, note 85 above.

⁷⁹ Thus *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* I:12, p. 10; II:3, p. 12; III:2, p. 16; VIII:2, p. 32; IX:6, p. 38; X:2, p. 46; X:13, p. 62; XI:9, p. 82; and XXX:1, p. 328.

⁸⁰ For this practice during the later crusades in the region, see A. Ehlers, “The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania Reconsidered”, in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

regulated: they were to preach the cross, receive vows and donations, and they held legatine powers over these matters and could appoint deputies.⁸¹ This system was employed over most of Latin Christian Europe.⁸² Throughout his pontificate, Innocent thus took great care to organize the preaching of the crusades in aid of the Holy Land.

By contrast, he did not orchestrate a programme of preaching for the Baltic expeditions. If he sent letters concerning the preaching and recruitment for the Livonian mission in October 1199, when he issued *Sicut ecclesiastice religionis* in support of the mission, these are now lost. His letter of October 1204, however, agreed to Bishop Albert's requests to have his campaigns preached in the churches in the province of Hamburg-Bremen, even when there was an interdict. Innocent here in effect relinquished papal control over the preaching and recruitment for the Livonian campaigns to Albert, allowing him almost complete discretion over the planning and implementation of the preaching and recruiting there.⁸³ This licence had no time limit, but it related only to a limited geographical area, the province of Hamburg-Bremen, which was one of the key recruitment regions for the Livonian mission. In December 1215, when Innocent issued *Alto diuine* calling on the faithful in Denmark to support the Livonian mission, he asked the local clergy to announce his

⁸¹ J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* 3rd edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 39–41.

⁸² There were exceptions: the pope himself was in charge of the preaching in Italy; papal legates were sent to France; in Hungary all bishops were to preach the cross; in Latin Syria and Palestine the bishop of Acre, James of Vitry, was appointed to preach, and in Denmark and Sweden the archbishops were to preach the crusade (letters of [April–May] 1213: *DD*, vol. 1:5, nos 30–1; letter of 21 February 1214: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 41; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades*, p. 40). In doing so, Anders would have fulfilled the same role as his fellow students from Paris: James of Vitry, Robert of Courçon and perhaps Archdeacon Walter of London had all belonged to the circle around Peter the Chanter when studying in Paris and were all now employed to promote the Fifth Crusade (P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge (Massachusetts): Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 109–10 and pp. 139–40; J. Bird, “Reform or Crusade? Anti-Usury and Crusade Preaching during the Pontificate of Pope Innocent III”, in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. J. C. Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 166 and *passim*).

⁸³ Letter of 12 October [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 139; Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 27–9; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 131.

letter to their congregations and exhort them to join the campaign.⁸⁴

The letters of 1209 and 1210 concerning the Danish king's planned undertaking against the pagans do not contain any instructions concerning the preaching of his expedition, although one of them was addressed to the faithful in the Danish kingdom and was presumably sent to king to use as he saw fit.⁸⁵

Innocent did not, therefore, put in place measures to ensure papal control over the preaching of the Baltic expeditions, but left the planning and implementation of the preaching and hence the recruiting to the local powers. This lack of papal interest in the organization of the preaching for the Baltic undertakings is in stark contrast to the great care he took over the preaching for the crusades in aid of the Holy Land and indicates that he was not concerned with the recruitment of participants for the expeditions in the Baltic.

The region designated for recruitment for the campaigns in the Baltic comprised the neighbouring lands along the Baltic Sea. The letter of 1199 was sent to Saxony and Westphalia as well as to the Christians in the lands of the Wends and in the region beyond the Elbe. The letter of 1204 was addressed to the province of Hamburg-Bremen, while that of December 1215 was addressed to the Danes. I have already suggested that similar letters, now lost, were written to other church provinces in the region in December 1215. It is likely that Innocent followed the requests of Bishop Albert who, as evidenced by the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, traditionally recruited participants in Saxony and Westphalia and in 1199 had sought support from the Danish king.⁸⁶ The letters of 1209 and 1210 concerning Valdemar's expedition exhorted only the Danes to participate in the royal expedition. No attempts were made to extend the circle of participants. It seems that Innocent simply issued calls for assistance in the Baltic to those regions which were suggested by Albert and Valdemar, and he certainly made no attempt to turn the campaigns in defence of the new Church in the Baltic into a matter for all western Christendom.

⁸⁴ Letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61. According to Henry of Livonia (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XIV:13, p. 130) Bishop Albert received a "renewed authorization to preach for the remission of the sins" in 1211, but this letter has not survived.

⁸⁵ Letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 163.

⁸⁶ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* III:2, p. 16, and *passim*.

Papal attempts at controlling the organization of the campaigns in the Baltic region

It will be clear that there was practically no papal attempt to control the organization, duration or even the targets of the Baltic campaigns. When authorizing new campaigns in the region, Innocent did not appoint any legates to represent him or to take charge of the campaigns. The letters concerning the expeditions to Livonia contain no instructions about their conduct and organization, but leave such decisions entirely to the missionary bishop. Similarly, the letters authorizing the Danish king's expedition in 1209 gave no suggestions or advice on such matters, but simply sanctioned an expedition already planned by Valdemar.⁸⁷ That this was indeed a royal Danish project and not a project common to all Christians is evidenced by the letter to the faithful in the Danish kingdom in which the pope urges them to "assist" their king and to "take up arms with their king". The pope did not even try to involve other magnates of the region.⁸⁸ He did not specify the target of the king's expedition, but in general terms allowed him to move against the pagans; the only hint at geographical specification is found in the letter's *narratio* where it is stated that the king already often has fought against "barbarian nations . . . which border on your kingdom".⁸⁹ The pope thus gave the Danish king a completely free rein to conduct his campaign as he saw fit. This is papally authorized royal warfare in the service of the Church.⁹⁰

This lack of papal control is remarkable in the light of Innocent's attempts to take firm control of the crusades to the Holy Land. As the vicar of Christ, the head of the Church, he regarded the leadership of the crusades and the recovery of the holy places as his

⁸⁷ The letter to the king refers to a campaign already under preparation by Valdemar: ". . . nuper tamen ymber diuine gratie terram cordis tui sancte predicationis uomere diligenter excultam adeo fecundauit. quod diuine zelo legis accensus apprehendere arma et scutum iterato proponis . . ."; letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162.

⁸⁸ Letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 163. The letter to the German emperor of the same date (*DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 164) does not invite the emperor or his men to participate, but simply forbids attacks on the Danish kingdom during the king's absence.

⁸⁹ ". . . huiusmodi barbaras nationes regno tuo conterminas . . ."; letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162. See also Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III.*, p. 206.

⁹⁰ See also Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 46–7.

responsibility.⁹¹ This was clear from the very beginning of his pontificate, as witnessed in his first crusade proclamation, *Post miserabile*, of August 1198.⁹² The issue of control became even more pressing after the failure of the Fourth Crusade and in Innocent's calls for the Fifth Crusade from 1213 onwards: papal attempts at securing control of the crusade were strong, culminating in the detailed arrangements laid out in *Ad liberandam* of 1215.⁹³ But Innocent did not at any time try to take control over the Baltic expeditions, not even in *Sicut ecclesiastice religionis* of October 1199 or in *Alto diuine* of December 1215, written at times when he was so concerned with the control over the crusades to the Holy Land. This indifference towards the control and organization of the expeditions against the infidels in the Baltic cannot simply be explained by the distance between Rome and northern Europe. The encyclical *Post miserabile* of 1198 with its specific instructions on the planning of the Fourth Crusade was sent to England, among other lands, and *Quia major* of 1213 which also contained papal instructions about the organization of crusades to the East was sent to both Denmark and Sweden.⁹⁴

While Innocent never attempted to take as firm, detailed control of the campaigns against heretics in France or against Muslims in Spain as he did for the crusades to the East, he did show a great interest in the Spanish and French undertakings by advising the leaders of these campaigns on their course of action. Early in 1212, he advised the king of Castile to call a temporary truce and postpone the fight against the Muslims to a more expedient time.⁹⁵ Similarly, he came to play a very active role in the campaigns against heretics in France, especially after the murder of the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, in January 1208.

The apparent lack of any attempt to become involved in the conduct of the campaigns in the Baltic region may therefore reflect the fact that Innocent gave these expeditions a low priority.

⁹¹ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 438.

⁹² Letter of 15 August [1198]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 1, no. 336; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 121; Housley, "The thirteenth-century crusades in the Mediterranean", p. 569.

⁹³ *Ad liberandam* of 30 November 1215: *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, pp. 243–7; Housley, "The thirteenth-century crusades in the Mediterranean", p. 573.

⁹⁴ *Quia major* of [19–29] April 1213: 'Urkundenbeilage', pp. 88–97, and *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 29.

⁹⁵ Letter of 4 February 1212: *PL*, vol. 216, cols 513–14.

The wording of the papal letters concerning the campaigns in the Baltic

There is a marked difference in the wording of Innocent's letters on the Livonian mission compared with those concerning the Danish activities. The letters of 1199, 1204 and 1215 concerning the Livonian mission do not contain any examples of 'crusade terminology', such as explicit references to participants having taken the cross or having been signed with the cross, or to the crusade as a service to Jesus Christ or a holy pilgrimage.⁹⁶ The letters of 1209 and 1210 concerning the Danish king's expedition, in contrast, contain several such references. In the letter of 31 October 1209 urging all Danes to support the king on his crusade Innocent called the king's planned crusade "*tam sancte peregrinationis labore*".⁹⁷ In a letter of the same day to the German Emperor Otto IV, the pope again referred to the Danish king's expedition as "*tam sancta peregrinatione*" and as "*servitium Ihesu Christi*".⁹⁸ In his letter of 1210 Innocent described the king as having taken the sign of the cross, "*signo crucis assumpto*".⁹⁹ Helmut Roscher states that "Das Fehlen des Begriffes 'crucesignati' und ähnlicher Benennungen wird bei der schmalen Quellengrundlage Zufall sein".¹⁰⁰ A quick glance does, however, indicate that the terminology used in letters concerning the Holy Land and the Baltic region is quite different. Letters such as *Post miserabile*, *Graves orientalis*, *Nisi nobis*, *Utinam dominus*, *Quia major* and *Ad liberandam*, granting indulgences for crusaders to the Holy Land, all contain some examples of such crusade terminology. In light of this, the lack of crusading terminology in the letters of 1199, 1204 and 1215 seems to be more than coincidental, and the strong crusading terminology in the letters of 1209 and 1210 concerning the Danish king's crusade is remarkable and shows that Innocent at least at this point considered the Baltic expeditions to be of essentially the same character as crusades to the Holy Land.

⁹⁶ The letters of 1204 and 1215 refer to men who have taken the cross, "*affixo suis humeris signo cruce*", but the phrase is used of men who haven taken a vow to go to the Holy Land.

⁹⁷ Letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 163.

⁹⁸ Letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 164.

⁹⁹ Letter of 7 May 1210: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 173.

¹⁰⁰ Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III.*, p. 206.

Royal campaigns and crusades against the heretics

The question remains why the letters of 1209 and 1210 concerning the royal Danish campaigns differed from the letters regarding the Livonian mission, not only in their terminology, but also in their justification of the cause for the warfare which was declared to be the conversion of the pagans and contained a reference to the wedding parable from Luke's Gospel (Luke 14:7–24). That the letters of 1209 did not herald a lasting shift in papal policy in the Baltic is seen in the fact that the pope in his letter of 1215 appears to have reverted to giving a defensive cause for the employment of warfare and that he did not use such crusade terminology in 1215.

The *narratio* and the first part of the *dispositio* of the letter of 1209 to the Danish king read:

Although you have often undergone many labours and expenses in fighting the war of the Lord against the barbarian nations of this sort which border on your kingdom, a recent shower of divine grace has again made fruitful the land of your heart, which has been cultivated so diligently by the ploughshare of holy preaching that, set on fire with the love of divine law, you are planning once more to take up your arms and shield to compel, just as in the parable of the gospel, the feeble and infirm, the blind and the lame to come in to the wedding feast of the highest king. After you have dragged the barbarian nations into the net of the orthodox faith, the verdure of the reed and the bulrush will be able to spring up where until now only ostriches have lived. And so, commending your resolution in the Lord, we advise your royal devotion most carefully and encourage and enjoin you for the remission of your sins that out of love for him who by his power led our captivity captive, you gird yourself manfully to root out the error of paganism and spread the bounds of the Christian faith.¹⁰¹

It cannot be established from the composition of this section whether the reference to the parable of the wedding feast was copied from

¹⁰¹ “*Licet autem aduersus huiusmodi barbaras nationes regno tuo conterminas prelium domino preliando multos sepe labores sustinueris et expensas. nuper tamen ymber diuine gratie terram cordis tui sancte predicationis uomere diligenter excultam adeo fecundauit. quod diuine zelo legis accensus apprehendere arma et scutum iterato proponis. ut iuxta parabolam euangelicam debiles et infirmos cecos et claudos ad nuptias summi regis intrare compellas. tractisque barbaris nationibus in sagemam fidei orthodoxe illuc uiror uinci et calami ualeat suboriri; ut habitauerant hactenus strutiones. Nos igitur tuum propositum in domino commendantes. deuotionem regiam monemus attentius et hortamur et in remissionem tibi peccatorum iniungimus. quatinus amore illius qui captiuitatem nostram sua duxit uirtute captiuam. ad extirpandum paganitatis errorem et terminos christiane fidei dilatandis; uiriliter te accingas . . .*”; letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162; translated in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality*, pp. 77–8.

the king's petition or whether it was inserted by the papal chancery. Its inclusion in the papal reply does, however, show that the chancery accepted this image as relevant to the purpose of the king's campaign.

The pope was keen to secure the Danish king's support as a papal ally in the region in the ongoing German dispute over the imperial title,¹⁰² but while this gave him yet another reason to support the king's Baltic undertakings, it does not explain the change in the papal perception of the character and purpose of such an enterprise. Various explanations can be offered, although none can be suggested with any certainty. It is, of course, possible that the language was simply due to a momentary lapse on behalf of Innocent or to a mistake in the curia,¹⁰³ although one would expect a letter of such importance—with a grant of an indulgence to campaigns in the Baltic—to have been drafted and checked at the highest level of the chancery and in consultation with the pope. The letter has only survived as a copy in the papal registers and we have no information about the persons involved in its drafting and issue. Does the play with words, as seen in the phrases “out of love for him who by his power led our captivity captive” (“*amore illius qui captiuitatem nostram sua duxit uirtute captiuam*”) in the *dispositio* and “they show to a creature the reverence they owe their creator” (“*reuerentiam exhibent creature quam debent impendere creatori*”) in the *arenga*, suggest Innocent himself? C.R. Cheney has noted that in his writing style Innocent showed “a taste for parallels between words of similar sound” and for transpositions of epithets.¹⁰⁴ Cheney also noted, as have others, that Innocent typically crammed a great number of biblical references into his letters; the relatively short letter to the Danish king contains more than ten quotations from and references to the Old and New Testament.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² See Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 130ff.

¹⁰³ This has been suggested by, among others, Jonathan Riley-Smith (*What Were the Crusades*, p. 10).

¹⁰⁴ C. R. Cheney, “The Letters of Pope Innocent III”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* XXXV (1952–3). Reprinted in his *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 31–2; B. Bolton, “*Via ascetica*: a papal quandary?”, *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985). Reprinted in her *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), p. 168; R. Brentano, *Rome before Avignon. A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome* (London: Longman, 1974), pp. 151–2. The word-play quoted above is most likely inspired by respectively Ephesians 4:8 and Romans 1:25.

¹⁰⁵ Cheney, “The Letters of Pope Innocent III”, pp. 29–31; letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162 with notes.

These stylistic features may indicate that Innocent was involved in the drafting of this letter.

Some explanations for the unusual content of this letter present themselves, if one takes Innocent's policy on the heretics in southern France into account. At first, he had tried to overcome the heresy there by strengthening the local Church through reforms and preaching, but eventually he had decided that the use of force was needed. Use of force to compel heretics back into the Church had long been found justified.¹⁰⁶ In letters of May 1204, February 1205 and November 1207 Innocent urged King Philip Augustus of France to put his force behind campaigns against the heretics and use his royal powers to protect the Church; he promised the full crusade indulgence for participation in such campaigns.¹⁰⁷ In 1207 he also granted to participants the privilege of papal protection of their property.¹⁰⁸ Before Innocent had declared a crusade, he had thus given crusade privileges to the French king and his army. At first nothing came of Innocent's calls. On 14 January 1208, however, the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered, and in October that year Innocent finally proclaimed a crusade against the heretics in southern France; he promised all participants an indulgence, granted them a series of temporal privileges and appointed three legates, Abbot Arnald-Amalrich of Cîteaux and the bishops of Riez and Conserans, to organize the preaching for the crusade and to lead it.¹⁰⁹ This development is reflected in the language in the papal letters which became more forceful and contained more crusading terminology. The language used in the papal letters from 1204 onwards is thus considerably stronger than the language used in letters of 1198, and in 1208 the pope several times referred to the fight against such heretics as "*opus tam sanctum*", "*labor tam sanctus*" and so forth. The sign of cross was mentioned and those who had promised or were about to promise to fight against the heretics were now described as "*ad obsequium Christi signati contra provençiales hereticos vel signandi*".¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III.*, pp. 214–21; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 135–6.

¹⁰⁷ Letter of 28 May [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 79; letter of 7 February [1205]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 212; letter of 17 November 1207: *PL*, vol. 215, cols 1246–8.

¹⁰⁸ Letter of 17 November 1207: *PL*, vol. 215, cols 1246–8.

¹⁰⁹ Letter of 9 October 1208: *PL*, vol. 215, cols 1469–70; Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III.*, p. 227ff.; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 136.

¹¹⁰ Letter of 9 October 1208: *PL*, vol. 215, cols 1469–70; letter of 11 November

There are some verbal similarities between a letter of 17 November 1207 to Philip Augustus concerning his campaign against the heretics and the letters of 31 October 1209 concerning Valdemar's expedition. They both contain an exhortation, "in remission of [their] sins, to gird [themselves] manfully to root out the error" of, respectively, the degenerate shoots of heresy and paganism; variations of this phrase were quite common in crusading letters, but Innocent had not previously used it in his letters concerning the Baltic campaigns.¹¹¹ Another element in the letters concerning Valdemar's expedition, namely the use of the parable of the wedding feast in the *narratio*, may link Valdemar's campaign with the crusades against heretics in France. This parable is not used in any of the papal letters to the French king about the fight against heretics, but it was famously used by St Augustine in his justification of repression of heresy. When the Church forced heretics from their erroneous beliefs to the true teaching of the Church, this was an act of mercy and could be likened to the host at the wedding feast in the gospel of Luke who sent his servants out to the high-ways to compel any to be found to come in.¹¹²

Pagans were not *per se* enemies of the Church and did not constitute an inherent threat to it. Heretics, on the other hand, were regarded as rebels against the Church, and in a decretal of 1199 Innocent equated heresy with treason.¹¹³ In some of his letters, however, Innocent described the pagans as enemies of the Church on a

1209: *PL*, vol. 216, cols 158–60. In contrast, see letter of 21 April 1198: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 1, no. 94.

¹¹¹ Letter of 17 November 1207: *PL*, vol. 215, cols 1246–8: "... in remissionem tibi peccaminum injungentes, quatenus ad extirpandos tam degeneres palmites... accingaris viriliter et potenter..."; letter of 31 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162: "... in remissionem tibi peccatorum iniungimus. quatinus... ad extirpandum paganitatis errorem... uiriliter te accingas...".

¹¹² J. Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love", *History* 65, no. 214 (1980), p. 186; H.-D. Kahl, "Compellere intrare. Die Wendepolitik Bruns von Querfurt im Lichte hochmittelalterlichen Missions- und Völkerrechts", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 4 (1955). Reprinted in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters* [*Wege der Forschung* 7], ed. H. Beumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), pp. 200ff.; F. R. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* [*Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* third series, 8] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 24–5.

¹¹³ W. Ullmann, "The significance of Innocent III's decretal "Vergentis"", in *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 2 vols (Paris: Sirey, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 730ff.

par with heretics, probably influenced by the reports of pagan attacks on the missionaries and new converts he received from the region. He used an image from the Book of Job to describe how the Church, depicted as the Jordan, was under threat from enemies, pagans or heretics, set against it by the Devil. He used this image in letters concerning the heresy in France in 1198 and 1204 and concerning the pagans in the Baltic region in 1204 and 1209.¹¹⁴ This image was also used in several of his sermons, but only rarely in other letters.¹¹⁵

Had the two causes—the fight against the heretics and that against the pagans—somehow merged in the pope’s mind? If so, it is possible that the radicalization of the struggle against the heretics in southern France led to a temporary radicalization of the policy in the Baltic and hence in Innocent’s ideas about the Baltic expeditions and the language in which he expressed these ideas. Having decided that the use of force was necessary in southern France and should be employed in the royal campaigns there, Innocent may have decided that a similar strategy should be used in the Baltic. The difference is, of course, that use of force against heretics had long been sanctioned by the Church, whereas it was not allowed in the conversion of pagans. But Innocent may have found that the situation called for desperate measures. Such radicalization of his perception of developments in southern France and the Baltic may have been influenced by an underlying change in his general view of the state of the Church and the problems facing Christendom after the disastrous Fourth Crusade. It is possible that the temporary shift in the lan-

¹¹⁴ Job 40:18: “*ecce, absorbebit fluvium et non mirabitur, et habet fiduciam quod influat Iordanis in os eius*”. Used in letter of 21 April 1198 concerning the heretics: “. . . qui fluvium absorbet et non miratur: habet enim fiduciam, quod Iordanis influat in os eius”: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 1, no. 94; in letter of 31 May [1204] concerning the heretics: “. . . concepta fiducia, quod Iordanis in os influat eorumdem”: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 7, no. 77; in letter of 12 October [1204] concerning the Livonian mission: “. . . cum flumen absorbeat, non miratur, sed fiduciam habet, quod Iordanis influat in os eius . . .”: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 7, no. 139; in letter of 31 October 1209 concerning the Danish king’s campaign: “. . . absorbet fluvium nec miratur. habens fiduciam quod Iordanis influat in os eius. . .”: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 162.

¹¹⁵ See Sermo XIII (*Dominica prima in Quadragesima*): *PL*, vol. 217, col. 374; Sermo XV (*Dominica tertia in Quadragesima*): *PL*, vol. 217, col. 383; Sermo XXIII (*In sollemnitate sanctæ Pentecostes*): *PL*, vol. 217, col. 415; Sermo XXIV (*In festo B. Petri ad vincula*): *PL*, vol. 217, col. 562; Sermo IV (*In consecratione pontificis*): *PL*, vol. 217, col. 669. A search in the Patrologia Latina-base only showed one other use of this particular phrase in Innocent’s letters: of 25 November [1205]: *Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 8, no. 158.

guage in the papal letters and in the papal description of the purpose of the royal expedition in the letters of 1209 and 1210 do not reflect a change in Innocent's attitudes towards the Baltic expeditions, but a more general change in his views in the years after 1204. It is, however, noteworthy that Innocent did not grant participants in the Danish king's campaign the plenary indulgence and the series of temporal privileges he granted the participants in the crusade against the heretics; neither did he appoint legates to oversee recruitment and organization of the Baltic venture.

The Holy Land and the Baltic

The papal letters show that Innocent III regarded the Baltic expeditions as less important than the crusades to the Holy Land. In 1199 he allowed the commutation of the vows of pilgrimage to Rome to vows to go to Livonia, thus making parallels between Livonia and pilgrimage, not crusades to the Holy Land. Twice, in 1204 and 1215, the pope allowed only those who due to poverty or ill health could not go to the Holy Land to go to Livonia, thus reserving the stronger and better-equipped men for service in the East. In the letter of 1215, the papal view that Baltic crusades were less important than crusades to the Holy Land was also clearly expressed when Innocent wrote that "those who cannot serve [God] by coming to the aid of the Holy Land can at least serve him by supporting the people of Livonia".¹¹⁶

When Innocent issued the bull *Quia major* in support of the Holy Land in 1213 and temporarily revoked the remissions and indulgences granted crusaders in Spain and against the heretics in France, there was no reference to the Baltic expeditions. Helmut Roscher argues that this shows that Innocent believed that these campaigns only attracted people from the Baltic region and thus did not deflect resources from the Holy Land;¹¹⁷ but Innocent III did send *Quia major* to the Danish and Swedish church provinces, obviously hoping to recruit crusaders from Denmark and Sweden. It seems more

¹¹⁶ "... hii qui ei seruire in subsidium terre sancte non possunt saltem in succursu Liuonie gentis ei deuotum exhibeant famulatum": letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

¹¹⁷ Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III.*, p. 202.

likely that the reason why the pope did not revoke the indulgence for the Baltic region was that he did not consider the tasks in the Baltic completed, unlike Spain and France: the pope stated that he revoked

the remissions and indulgences formerly granted by us to those setting out for Spain against the Moors or against the heretics in Provence, chiefly because these were conceded to them in circumstances which have already entirely passed and for that particular cause which has already for the most part disappeared, for so far affairs in both places have gone well . . .¹¹⁸

It may also be that he regarded the Baltic campaigns, with their partial indulgence, as being of so little significance that they did not compete with the crusades to the East. He clearly did not intend crusaders from north-east Europe to focus solely on the Baltic region, but urged them to go to the Holy Land, thus again showing that although the Baltic enterprise should continue, it was less important than support for the Holy Land.

It could be argued that the low priority and the limited indulgence given to the Baltic expeditions could be explained by a papal wish not to deflect resources from crusades to the East. In 1199 the pope could have wanted to give preference to the Fourth Crusade, proclaimed in 1198. Around October 1209 when Innocent issued the letters about the Danish royal expedition, he was again concerned with support for the Holy Land; this is seen in a letter of November 1209 to Simon de Montfort in which he hesitated to call for new recruitment campaigns for the Albigensian crusades out of concern for the situation in the East.¹¹⁹ In 1215, the pope was clearly very focused on the Fifth Crusade. But consideration for the Holy Land is never mentioned in Innocent's letters concerning the Baltic expeditions, as it was in letters concerning the Albigensian crusades, and there is no evidence that the pope ever intended to grant a full indulgence to participants in the Baltic expeditions. While Innocent's letter of November 1209 to Simon de Montfort contained a reference to the need to put the support for the Holy Land first, the let-

¹¹⁸ Letter of [19–29] April 1213: 'Urkundenbeilage', pp. 88–97; translated in Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality*, p. 122.

¹¹⁹ Letter of 11 November 1209: *PL*, vol. 216, cols 152–3; Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III*, p. 234; Linda Ross, paper at The Crusade Seminar at the Institute for Historical Research, London, March 2001.

ter of October 1209 to the Danish king contained no such explanation of the limited indulgence granted.

But why did Innocent only offer a limited indulgence for the Baltic crusades? Was it because he was afraid that a plenary indulgence for Baltic crusades would deflect resources from crusades to the Holy Land or simply because he did not regard the Baltic expeditions as being of the same importance as crusades to the Holy Land? I suggest that the latter is the case. In 1209 Innocent could have granted a full indulgence for the Danish king's Baltic expedition if he had wished to do so. Innocent was certainly concerned about the situation in the Holy Land at this time, as evidenced by his efforts to recruit crusaders for the Holy Land in France, Lombardy and the March of Ancona in 1208 and by the letter of November 1209 to Simon de Montfort, but he nevertheless allowed the crusades against the heretics in southern France to continue, and the following year he granted remission of all sins, "*remissio omnium peccaminum*", to participants in crusades in Spain.¹²⁰ Further clarification of Innocent's stand on the Baltic crusades may be found in his policy on mission among non-Christians.

Innocent III and mission among non-Christians

The many reports and requests from the missionary bishops working in the Baltic region allowed Pope Innocent to follow their progress and to offer advice on their methods.

As we have seen, Bishop Albert sent petitions and questions to the curia almost annually, and through these Innocent also became involved in the organization and composition of the group of missionaries working in Livonia. Soon after his election Albert had begun to recruit more missionaries, and at his request Innocent wrote a letter, *Cum in partibus*, to those Cistercian abbots who were approached by him. The pope exhorted the abbots allow their monks to join the Livonian mission.¹²¹ While Albert's attempts to enlist more Cistercians for the Livonian mission were met with little enthusiasm

¹²⁰ Letter of 11 November 1209: *PL*, vol. 216, cols. 152–3; letter of 10 December 1210: *PL*, vol. 216, col. 353.

¹²¹ Letter of [April] 1200: *Fontes Historiae Latviae Medii Aevi*, vol. 1, no. 31.

from the Cistercian abbots,¹²² they would have been welcomed by Innocent who, following the example of his predecessors, had used members of that Order as papal agents in a variety of functions from the very beginning of his pontificate.¹²³ The Cistercians were well suited for preaching, a quality Innocent often mentioned in his letters to the Order, as he indeed did in this letter of 1200. This emphasis on the preaching skills of the Cistercians again underlines that Innocent wished the Livonian mission to proceed along peaceful lines, just as he had made it clear in his very first letter concerning the mission in Livonia, written in October 1199.¹²⁴

By the spring of 1201 Innocent had received more news of the state of the Livonian mission along with a series of new requests. In a reply richly illustrated with quotations from the Gospel Innocent cited the evangelist Matthew's missionary injunction (Matthew 28:19) and exhorted Bishop Albert and his companions to continue their work.¹²⁵ He mainly used quotations from The Acts of the Apostles, making a parallel between the lives of the apostles and those of the missionaries to emphasise that the missionaries in Livonia were to work through preaching and peaceful means.¹²⁶ He now encouraged the missionaries to join together in one organization, with one rule and, as an outward sign of their unity, one habit. This suggestion is likely to have been brought about by reports from Bishop Albert, struggling to overcome the rivalry by the members of the different

¹²² See *Statuta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. J.-M. Canivez, 3 vols. (Louvain, 1933), *Statuta ordinis cisterciensis* 1199 and 1209, vol. I, p. 364, cap. 35, and vol. I, p. 246, cap. 71; Maccarrone, "I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia", pp. 57–60. That the Livonian bishops zealously recruited new missionaries is also suggested by the fact that the chronicler Arnold of Lübeck knew of their recruitment campaigns among monks, regular canons and clerics (*Chronica Slavorum*, V:30, pp. 214–15).

¹²³ See B. Bolton, "A mission to the Orthodox?: the Cistercians in Romania", *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976). Reprinted in her *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), *passim*; B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229. Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), especially pp. 135–73; L. Schmugge, "Zisterzienser, Kreuzzug und Heidenkrieg", in *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1980), pp. 63–5.

¹²⁴ Letter of 5 October [1199]: *DD*, vol. 1:3, no. 254.

¹²⁵ Letter of 19 April 1201: Maccarrone, "I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia", pp. 78–80.

¹²⁶ M. Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1972), p. 268.

orders working in Livonia.¹²⁷ In order to facilitate the missionary work Innocent went further than his predecessor: while Celestine III had permitted that for practical reasons the missionaries be dispensed from their orders' rules concerning diet and clothing, Innocent suggested the creation of a new body encompassing all missionaries working in the field. The idea of bringing together members of different religious orders or fractions was a recurrent one for Innocent: in 1200 he had made a similar suggestion regarding the Humiliati in Lombardy, and he was later to employ a similar idea concerning nuns in Rome.¹²⁸ The missionaries in Livonia did not, however, heed the papal advice, and soon after the receipt of Innocent's letter the Cistercians founded their own abbey, Dünamünde.¹²⁹

By the autumn of 1204 Innocent had abandoned the idea. When in October he issued the letter *Etsi verba evangelizantium*, he made a distinction between Cistercians, Benedictines and regular canons and thereby in effect accepted that his ambitious plans for a unified missionary corps had been ignored.¹³⁰ In this letter he also acknowledged a new institution in the Livonian mission, that of the *Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia*, or the Sword-Brothers, which had been created by the Cistercians working there in a move echoing previous Cistercian involvement with the military orders.¹³¹ But this did not

¹²⁷ Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III*, p. 268.

¹²⁸ Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III*, pp. 269–70; B. Bolton, "Daughters of Rome: all one in Christ Jesus", *Studies in Church History* 27 (1990). Reprinted in her *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), pp. 108–9; Bolton, "Via ascetica: a papal quandary?", pp. 185–6.

¹²⁹ B. Jähmig, "Zisterzienser und Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht in Livland und Preussen zu Beginn der Missionszeit", in *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht in Mittelalter* [*Ordines Militares—Colloquia Torunensia Historica* V], ed. Z. H. Nowak (Toruń: Universitas Nicolai Copernici, 1990), p. 80; Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III*, p. 270.

¹³⁰ Letter of 12 October [1204]; *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 139; Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III*, p. 270.

¹³¹ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* VI:4, p. 24; Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, pp. 39–44. Bernard of Clairvaux had supported the foundation of the Templars and had praised the order in his *De laude novae militiae ad milites Templi*. The Cistercians subsequently became closely linked to the Order of Calatrava which was given a modified Cistercian rule and soon became affiliated with a series of minor military orders in Castile, Léon and Portugal (Jähmig, "Zisterzienser und Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht", pp. 72–3; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 106). In 1228 a military order, the *Milites Christi de Prussia*, was created in Prussia, probably by the Cistercian missionary bishop working there; this too was given the Templars' rule (Jähmig, "Zisterzienser und Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht", p. 82). See also p. 81 with note 8 above.

mean that Innocent had abandoned the idea of peaceful conversion of the Livonians. He made it unequivocally clear that there was to be a strict division of work: the missionary work was to continue through the preaching of the various religious orders, and the Sword-Brothers were to act only in defence of the missionaries, not to partake in the conversion of the pagans.¹³²

In a letter of 1206 concerning the Polish Cistercians from Lekno who wished to take up mission among Prussians, Innocent briefly returned to the problem of rivalry between the different orders engaged in mission. Having given up on the idea of a unified missionary order, he now merely exhorted the Cistercians to cooperate with other orders. In the letter Innocent described how the abbot of Lekno had approached the curia to obtain permission to preach among the Prussians. Innocent clearly approved of the abbot's procedure, and his choice of Gospel quotations for the letter shows that he recognized his responsibility for mission among the pagans in as far as he believed that planned missionary projects should be sent to curia for approval and that he should authorize and support them if they were viable and suitable. In the letter Innocent cited Matthew (9:38): "You must ask the owner to send labourers to bring in the harvest".¹³³ He furthermore quoted Paul's Letter to the Romans (10:14–15):

But how could they call on him without having faith in him? And how could they have faith without having heard of him? And how could they hear without preachers? And how could anyone preach without being sent?¹³⁴

In choosing this quotation, Innocent echoed Bernard of Clairvaux who, as we have seen, had used this passage in *De consideratione* to

¹³² Letter of 12 October [1204]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 139. Barbara Bombi (in a paper at the conference on 'Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology' in Rome, January 2001) has pointed out that Innocent's letters of 1199 and 1204 both show that he envisioned a mission where preachers carried out the conversion by the use of the spiritual sword, while laymen were to defend the mission—the preachers and the newly converted—by the material sword.

¹³³ "... qui discipulis suis ait: "Rogate dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam". . .": letter of of 26 October 1206: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 9, no. 174.

¹³⁴ "Sed quoniam, ut ait Apostolus: "Quomodo invocabunt, in quem non crediderunt? Aut quomodo credent ei, quem non audierunt? Vel quomodo audient sine predicante? Et quomodo predicabunt, nisi mittantur?" . . .": letter of of 26 October 1206: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 9, no. 174; Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III*, p. 272.

remind the pope of the papal responsibility for mission.¹³⁵ By quoting Paul's words Innocent made it clear that the new Prussian mission was to work through peaceful methods, through preaching, a point emphasised throughout the letter by repeated references to the evangelization which the missionaries were to undertake.

Innocent III and the care for the newly converted

The letter of April 1201 had contained a series of questions from Albert concerning the newly converted. In reply Innocent made it clear that the new converts were to be treated leniently: they could not be expected to leave behind all their customs and practices on the acceptance of baptism. He was therefore in some instances willing to dispense from the canonical regulations concerning marriage and consanguinity. The missionaries were also reminded to be merciful when performing their pastoral duties among the members of their new congregations. When deciding on a suitable penance for such sins as fornication, adultery and homicide, they were to exercise their discretion and to take into account all circumstances, especially the fact that Christian practices were only recently established in Livonia.¹³⁶

Such leniency, the pope warned, was imperative lest the newly converted should regret their conversion because of problems adapting to the Christian customs and commandments. Innocent explicitly recognized that he was following the example of Pope Gregory the Great in setting up these measures to help prevent apostasy.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ See Chapter One, p. 42. For the influence of Bernard's writings on Innocent, see for instance J. Doran, "In Whose Footsteps?: The Role Models of Innocent III", in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998* [Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Nuovi Studi Storici 55/ Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria XLIV], ed. A. Sommerlechner, 2 vols (Rome: la Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2003), vol. 1, p. 60 and p. 62; and M. Maccarrone, *Chiesa e stato nella dottrina di papa Innocenzo III* [Lateranum nova series VI 3–4] (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1940), pp. 13ff.

¹³⁶ Letter of 19 April 1201: Maccarrone, "I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia", pp. 78–80. See J. A. Brundage, "Christian Marriage in Thirteenth-Century Livonia", *Journal of Baltic Studies* 4 (1973). Reprinted in his *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), especially pp. 315ff., for a discussion of the letter's matrimonial issues.

¹³⁷ "Ad hec sancte memorie beati Gregorii pape predecessoris nostri adherentes vestigiis . . .": letter of 19 April 1201: Maccarrone, "I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia", pp. 78–80.

He even used the same quotation as Gregory in order to illustrate why it was necessary to treat the newly converted leniently, namely a passage from 1 Cor. 3:2: “I fed you on milk, instead of solid food [for which you were not yet ready]”.¹³⁸ Gregory had used this image in a letter in which he advocated a flexible stand towards the marriage practices among the newly converted Anglo-Saxons.¹³⁹ But Innocent did not only follow Gregory’s policy and use the same Biblical image: in several passages he also copied the wording of Gregory’s letter practically verbatim.¹⁴⁰ When presented with Bishop Albert’s query concerning the marital practice of the newly converted, Innocent had thus consulted Gregory’s letter on this matter which was available to the pope in several compilations.¹⁴¹ Innocent had clearly studied it in detail and took from it not only a relaxed stand on the matter of marriage regulations, but also the principle of a generally lenient treatment of neophytes. A similar policy of mercifulness—and a similar image—had been employed by Pope Nicholas I in his dealings with the mission among the Bulgars. He had advised Khan Boris that the new converts could not be expected to practise their new faith perfectly, and hence strict observance of the laws of abstinence could not be required. He wrote that because the Bulgars “were up to now pagan and still ought to be nourished on milk, [the pope] could not put a heavy yoke on [them] until [they] were ready for solid food”.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ “*Nam secundum apostoli verbum dicentis: “Iac dedi vobis potum non escam” . . .*” and “. . . *ut prediximus: “Iac dedi vobis non escam” . . .*”: letter of 19 April 1201: Maccarrone, “I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia”, pp. 78–80.

¹³⁹ Maccarrone, “I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia”, pp. 70 and 74; Maccarrone refers to *Decretum Gratiani* (*De peon*, d. I, c. 86, pp. 1183–4), but there are several other ways in which Innocent could have become familiar with Gregory’s letter. The letter was included in the *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres (*PL*, vol. 161, cols 1299–1300) and in the register of Gregory’s letters (*PL*, vol. 77, cols 1322–8). It was furthermore quoted in part in John the Deacon’s *Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita* (written between 873 and 876) (*PL*, vol. 75, col. 102).

¹⁴⁰ *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, *Decreti secunda pars causa XXV*, quest. II et III, c. XX, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879–81), vol. 1, cols 1268–9; letter of 19 April 1201: Maccarrone, “I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia”, pp. 78–80.

¹⁴¹ See note 139 just above.

¹⁴² Letter of 13 November 866: *Nicolai I. papae epistolae*, ed. E. Perels, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. IV (Berlin 1925), no. 99, pp. 568–600, cap. IV; translated in R. E. Sullivan, “The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages”, *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955), p. 94.

Innocent's care for the newly converted was not limited to matters regarding the observance of Christian regulation and practices. He was also concerned for their social and financial standing. In August 1212 emissaries from the mission in Prussia obtained a letter in which Innocent sternly forbade the dukes of Poland and Pomerania to impose dues on the converts and reduce their freedom, as they had reportedly done.¹⁴³ He voiced similar concerns in a letter of 1213 in which he—probably after complaints from the Sword-Brothers—rebuked Bishop Albert for his treatment of the new converts.¹⁴⁴ Innocent's fear of apostasy among the new converts made it important to him to ensure that the pagans in the Baltic region who accepted Christianity did not experience any adversity or any reduction of their situation.

Innocent III, reform and internal and external mission

Innocent clearly supported the ongoing mission in the Baltic region, but he did not initiate any projects to bring the faith to non-Christians living outside western Christendom. Indeed, Benjamin Kedar concluded that “Innocent III showed no interest in furthering mission to the Saracens”.¹⁴⁵ Innocent's main priority was not external, but internal mission: evangelizing among Christians and heretics in western Europe.

By the end of the twelfth century there was a growing sense of need for strengthening the faith of the Christians in the West. Many believed that the failings of the Christians were responsible for the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, and the purification of western Christendom was therefore a central element in its retrieval; such ideas had already been expressed by Pope Gregory VIII when he called for the Third Crusade.¹⁴⁶ The loss of the holy city had certainly

¹⁴³ Letter of 13 August 1212: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 7.

¹⁴⁴ Letter of 11 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 28; M.-H. Vicaire, “Vie commune et apostolat missionnaire. Innocent III et la mission de Livonie”, in *Mélanges offerts à M.-D. Chenu* [*Bibliothèque Thomiste XXXVII*] (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1967), p. 460. Henry of Livonia (*Henrici Chronicon Livoniae* X:1, pp. 46–6) mentions Livonian complaints about the harsh treatment imposed upon the new converts by the bishop and his followers.

¹⁴⁵ B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 131, note 122.

¹⁴⁶ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 433 and pp. 489–90.

shaken the people of western Europe, as had the heresy which had taken root in southern France and elsewhere. The spiritual developments of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries had contributed to the emergence of a number of new religious movements among the laity which, influenced by the ideal of the imitation of the apostolic life, particularly stressed evangelical poverty and preaching. Some of them believed that they complied with the teachings of the Church, others were in open opposition to the Church and had already been condemned as such.¹⁴⁷

Soon after his election Innocent took up the issue of the lay religious movements. Hoping to bring them under control, he tried to reintegrate them into the Church, to persuade them to conform to orthodox doctrine and to subject themselves to papal authority. This policy of reconciliation and inclusion was employed successfully with some groups, including some Waldensians.¹⁴⁸ For the more recalcitrant or less organized dissidents who had not entered into dialogue with Rome, Innocent at first devised a different policy which relied on preaching and disputation. Once more the Cistercians was to be the favoured papal instrument. In several letters Innocent appealed to the Cistercians to engage in the active life and come to the aid of the Church by taking up preaching among the heretics.¹⁴⁹ Over the years he dispatched several Cistercians to southern France as preachers and papal legates, following their work closely and issuing a series of letters to advise them on their approach. He called on the local secular lords for support and attempted to reform the

¹⁴⁷ See for instance the overviews offered in H. Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages. The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, 2nd edition, transl. S. Rowan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London: Allen Lane, 1977); and B. Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983).

¹⁴⁸ Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, p. 31, pp. 34–50 as well as pp. 58–9.

¹⁴⁹ Using an image from Songs of Songs (2:15) Innocent often described the heretics as foxes threatening the Lord's vineyard. This identification of heretics as foxes threatening the Lord's vineyard dates back to the Gnostics and was used by Augustine and Jerome; it was also often used by Bernard of Clairvaux and other Cistercians and hence may have held special appeal to those Cistercians whom Innocent wished to recruit (Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, p. 8, pp. 82–3, pp. 135–8 and pp. 145–6; Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, p. 44).

local Church. But when these methods failed, Innocent proceeded along different lines and he eventually proclaimed a crusade against the heretics, as described above.¹⁵⁰

To counter the perceived weakening of the faith and to avoid further heresy among the Christians in western Europe Innocent wished to improve the instruction of the laity as well as the pastoral care which it received. He believed that this could only be achieved through a reform of the Church. The bull *Vineam domini sabaoth* with which he summoned the Fourth Lateran Council shows the importance he ascribed to this matter. In it he declared that there were two main tasks for the council and, presumably, for the remainder of his pontificate: “Among all the good things which our heart can desire, there are two in this world which we value above all: that is to promote the recovery of the Holy Land and the reform of the universal church.”¹⁵¹ Like many others, Innocent believed these goals to be interrelated.

In 1215 the council agreed on a series of reforms of the pastoral care received by the laity. The central elements were a better provision of instruction of the laity through preaching; improvement of the education of the parish clergy; and regulation concerning the frequency and performance of confession.¹⁵² The reforms may partly have been influenced by ideas current in the schools of Paris where—as mentioned briefly above—in the late twelfth century some theologians had begun to show an interest in pastoral care and practical morality and to produce preaching manuals and guides to confessors.¹⁵³ Innocent may well have known the programme of pastoral

¹⁵⁰ Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, pp. 135–73; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 133ff. See p. 108 above.

¹⁵¹ “. . . *inter omnia desiderabilia cordis nostri duo in hoc sæculo principaliter affectamus, ut ad recuperationem videlicet terræ sanctæ ac reformationem universalis Ecclesiæ valeamus intendere cum effectu . . .*”: letter of 19 April 1213: *PL*, vol. 216, cols 824ff.; translated in Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 433. Innocent repeated the importance of these two goals in his opening sermon at the council (Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, p. 317).

¹⁵² Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 436–6 and pp. 489–96; see particularly Canons 10, 11 and 21 (*Conciliorum œcumenicorum decreta*, pp. 215–16 and p. 221).

¹⁵³ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 436–7 and pp. 489–90; P. Michaud-Quantin, “Les méthodes de la pastorale du XIII^e au XV^e siècle”, in *Methoden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters* [*Miscellanea Mediævalia* 7], ed. A. Zimmermann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter und Co., 1970), pp. 76ff.; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, p. 18 and pp. 32–9; A. Forni, “La ‘nouvelle prédication’ des disciples de Foulques de Neuilly: Intentions, techniques and réactions”, in *Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion*

care as expressed by the Paris theologians, perhaps through Peter the Chanter, the prominent theological master and main proponent of these ideas.¹⁵⁴

Innocent was thus deeply concerned with reform and internal mission. He devised a variety of measures to stabilize and strengthen the Church and took a very active role in the fight against heresy, initiating new policies and plans, monitored their implementation and adjusted them accordingly. The struggle against the dissident groups who challenged the authority and stability of the Church had priority over the expansion of the Christian faith.

Innocent III and the ecclesiastical organization in the newly converted lands

Innocent was willing to support any agent who approached the curia for sanction of its involvement in the conversion of the pagans and the expansion of the Christian faith in the Baltic region. The papal policy was one of allowing all interested parties to engage themselves in the Baltic region and during his pontificate Innocent supported the efforts of Bishop Albert of Riga, the Sword-Brothers, the Cistercian missionaries in Prussia, the Danish king and Church as well as the Swedish king. He did not try to designate certain geographical parts of the region to certain players; the papal authorizations of 1209 of the Danish king's planned campaign did not contain any specifications of the region in which the king was allowed to operate, for example.

Similarly, there were very few attempts to control the way ecclesiastical structures developed by dividing the region into spheres of interest for the various metropolitan powers involved in the mission. The pope did not try to incorporate the new Church into the existing church provinces; but he did not object if such an incorpora-

et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle [Collection de l'École française de Rome 51], ed. A. Vauchez (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), pp. 20ff. The influence of these theologians on the reforms devised at the Fourth Lateran Council is perhaps most directly seen in the council's canons on matrimonial legislation and on the prohibition of clerical involvement in ordeals (Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, p. 337 and pp. 342–3; see also p. 318).

¹⁵⁴ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, p. 43, p. 343 and pp. 512–13; Imkamp, *Das Kirchenbild Innocenz' III.*, pp. 27–8.

tion was requested. When in January 1206 he gave the Danish archbishop *carte blanche* to appoint a bishop in any town he secured for Christendom during his planned expedition, he did not specify any geographical region for this.¹⁵⁵ Innocent also appears have given Bishop Albert of Riga free rein. According to Henry of Livonia, around 1210 Albert received “from the supreme pontiff the authority in place of an archbishop to create and consecrate bishops in the overseas lands which God had subjected to Christianity through the Livonian Church”.¹⁵⁶ If Henry’s account is to be trusted, no limitations were put on the lands Albert was allowed to include in his new dioceses. Likewise, when in 1216 the pope confirmed the Swedish king’s right to lands conquered from the pagans and allowed the Swedish king to create one or two bishoprics, which were to be under the metropolitan see in Uppsala, in land conquered from the pagans, there were no geographical specifications.¹⁵⁷

Caution was, however, displayed when in 1213 the curia was petitioned for the creation of a new episcopal see in the southern Estonian provinces of Saccala and Ungannia. This request probably came from the Sword-Brothers.¹⁵⁸ The pope did not immediately comply with the request, but ordered the Danish Archbishop Anders to examine whether it was necessary and possible to create a new see

¹⁵⁵ Letter of 13 January [1206]: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 109.

¹⁵⁶ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XV:4, p. 136; translated in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, transl. J. A. Brundage, p. 113. Albert, keen to secure ecclesiastical control over the conquered lands in the face of competition from the Sword-Brothers (Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwerbrüder*, p. 116), may have asked for papal authorization to consecrate new bishops because the dead-lock in the Hamburg-Bremen see did not allow him to seek help to new appointments there (see p. 85 with note 23 above).

¹⁵⁷ Letter of 4 April 1216: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 52.

¹⁵⁸ The pope stated that he had been requested to create such a see (letter of 11 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 29). This is likely to have come from the Sword-Brothers who at this time were preoccupied with this part of Estonia: they had received papal confirmation of their possessions in Saccala and Ungannia (letter of 11 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 30) and may have wished for a bishop there whom they could control. They had previously been refused to establish an episcopal see (letter of 25 January 1212: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 24). That was probably not due to a general lack of papal support for the Order (letters of 20 October 1210: *LEC*, vol. 1, nos 16–17; Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwerbrüder*, pp. 113–16; Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 41–3). It was more likely because the pope, in light of the Order’s inexperience and territorial disputes with the Riga bishop, not wished to provide it with an independent power base.

there.¹⁵⁹ This decision is not surprising: having just issued letters about a territorial conflict between the Order and the bishop of Riga,¹⁶⁰ the pope probably saw a need for an impartial examiner, and Anders fitted the bill as a nearby archbishop, with experience from the region from his stay in Livonia in 1206–7. But it all came to nothing. The bishop of Estonia hurried to the papal curia to explain that Saccala and Ungannia was part of Estonia and thus of his diocese, a point which the pope had been completely unaware of, as the Order seems to have presented their case as if Saccala and Ungannia were merely near Estonia, not part thereof.¹⁶¹ The case did apparently not go any further.¹⁶² While there thus were very few papal attempts at controlling the expansion of the existing ecclesiastical organizations in the region, the curia did respond with some caution when powers outside the existing ecclesiastical organizations—the Sword-Brothers and perhaps in 1208 the Prussian mission¹⁶³—also wanted to gain control over episcopal sees.

In 1213 and 1214 Innocent guaranteed the missionary sees of Riga and Estonia exemption from any metropolitan see, but this

¹⁵⁹ Letter of 11 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 29. It is unlikely that the initiative for the request of 1213 came from Anders, and as such was part of a Danish master plan to expand and secure the Danish sphere of interest, as it is improbable that the pope would have asked Anders to examine the need and possibility for such a see, if Anders himself had already stated that such a see was necessary. See also Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, pp. 130–3, and P. Johansen, *Nordische Mission, Reväls Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland* [*Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar* 74] (Stockholm: Wahlström och Widstrand, 1951), p. 102.

¹⁶⁰ Letter of 10 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 27; letter of 11 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 31.

¹⁶¹ The letter confirming the Order's possessions in Saccala and Ungannia referred to 'Saccalæ ac Hugenhusen, Estlandiæ adjacentes': letter of 11 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 30; for a discussion of the reading of *Estlandiæ* here, see note a) at *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 30, and Johansen, *Nordische Mission*, p. 102. The bishop obtained letters establishing his authority in Estonia: of 31 October 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, nos. 35–6.

¹⁶² The pope did not issue new letters withdrawing the assignment to Anders. We do not even know if the letter to Anders was dispatched. The letter has only survived as a copy in the papal registers, but it would not necessarily have been noted there if the letter had been countermanded (see C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney, "Introduction", in *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) concerning England and Wales*, ed. C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. x and p. xxii).

¹⁶³ Blanke, "Die Missionsmethode des Bischofs Christian von Preussen", p. 340 and p. 350, suggests that that the missionaries in Prussia around 1208 attempted to have a bishopric created in Prussia during a visit to the curia, but that this was refused by the pope.

does not appear to have been a papal initiative aimed at getting direct control over them. During his visit to the papal curia in October and November 1213, Bishop Albert's envoy persuaded Innocent to issue a letter stating that the newly created Estonian see was not subjected to any metropolitan.¹⁶⁴ In February 1214 Albert received a similar letter concerning Riga's exemption. This letter stated that, since the Church of Riga never had been known to be subjected to any metropolitan, it should remain so till the general council, that is, the Fourth Lateran Council the following year.¹⁶⁵ But this Livonian see was in fact originally, under its previous name of Üxküll, subjected to the metropolitan at Hamburg-Bremen, an arrangement which had received papal confirmation in 1188.¹⁶⁶ The episcopal seat had been moved from Üxküll to Riga by Bishop Albert, but no papal letters approving this move have survived, and the curia may not have been aware that the two sees were one and the same.¹⁶⁷ In February 1214, alongside the letter concerning Riga's exemption, a new letter was issued to the Estonian see, repeating that it should not be subjected to any metropolitan, but adding that this should be reviewed at the Fourth Lateran Council, just as in the letter to the Church of Riga; this represents a limitation of the letter of November 1213 which had given the Estonian see an unconditional and unlimited exemption from any metropolitan. The initiative for these exemptions is likely to have come from Bishop Albert and the bishop of Estonia.¹⁶⁸ Albert knew, of course, of Riga's subjection to Hamburg-Bremen, as he himself had been a canon in

¹⁶⁴ Letter of 2 November 1213: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 37.

¹⁶⁵ “*Cum in memoria hominum non existat, Rigensem ecclesiam alicui metropolitico iuri subesse, volumus et mandamus, ut, donec in generali concilio super hoc aliquid certum duxerimus statuendum, nulli, tamquam metropolitano, interim respondere cogaris*”: letter of 20 February 1214: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 26 (but see *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, no. 4899, for the dating of the letter).

¹⁶⁶ Letter of 25 September 1188: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 9; letter of 1 October 1188: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 10.

¹⁶⁷ Henry of Livonia described the move of the see: *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* VI:3, pp. 22–4.

¹⁶⁸ Letter of 28 February 1212: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 11; letter of 29 April 1214: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 44. Had the initiative come from the pope, he could simply have acknowledged the fact that the Riga see was subjected to Hamburg-Bremen and then have annulled the bond, a move which could have been justified by the turbulence at Hamburg-Bremen.

Bremen before his appointment as bishop of Riga,¹⁶⁹ but he could have been eager to omit this fact in his petition in order to secure the exemption of his see from Hamburg-Bremen, as the close bond to this troubled and paralysed province was now a liability. These petitions appear to have made the pope realize that the organization of the new Church in the region was in need of a revaluation. But he did not dispatch a legate to oversee an overhaul of the Baltic Church. Instead he deferred the issue to the Fourth Lateran Council. He may have planned a major reorganization of the new Church in the Baltic region or simply wanted to postpone a final decision until he could discuss the matter in person with the bishops of the two sees who, as all bishops, were obliged to attend the council. This did not, however, happen.

Innocent used the members of the existing church hierarchy in the region as supervisors of the new missions in the Baltic. In 1210 the mission in Prussia was put under the protection and care of Archbishop Henry Kietlicz of Gnesen (1199–1219), who continued as legate for this mission until 1219.¹⁷⁰ Archbishop Anders of Lund also received legatine powers. These cannot, however, be determined with any certainty, nor can his legatine field be established. The only surviving letter concerning his legatine powers is one of April 1212 in which Innocent admonished the Swedish archbishop and all bishops in the Danish and Swedish church provinces to assist Anders in his missionary work and to regard him as the legate of the Apostolic See in this matter.¹⁷¹ Anders here only received powers in Denmark and Sweden; the letter did not give him rights in any other part of the Baltic region. This letter was probably prompted by complaints from Anders over a lack of cooperation, especially from the Swedish bishops, with regard to the Danish archbishop's policy on Finland.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* III:1, p. 16.

¹⁷⁰ Letter of 4 September 1210: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 5; letter of 11 May 1219: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 30.

¹⁷¹ Letter of 4 April 1212: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 13.

¹⁷² See also Nyberg, "The Danish Church and Mission in Estonia", p. 69. The letter does not contain any detailed information about Anders's powers, and it is thus likely that Innocent issued other letters, now lost, to Anders along with it (Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 47–50). Anders had previously, in 1204 and 1206, received various powers as papal legate within Denmark and Sweden, but they did not relate specifically to missionary activities and were mainly renewals of rights also given to his predecessors (letter of 19 November [1204]: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 96; letter of 18 January [1206]: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 110). A reference in the *Gesta Innocentii*

Again it is noteworthy that Innocent chose to appoint leaders of the nearby Churches as supervisors of the new missions rather than to dispatch a legate from the curia. He did know the two men very well: he may have known Anders from Anders's stay at the curia in the 1190s or maybe even from his days as a student,¹⁷³ and Henry was a former colleague of Innocent from Paris.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the appointment of a papal legate from the curia would most likely have ensured the curia a more complete and direct control over the new missions. Innocent's chosen approach suggests that he ascribed only low priority to the mission there and perhaps regarded mission as a matter for the local Churches rather than the curia, in line with the traditional papal view on these matters.

The papal policy was to respond to initiatives from local parties, although Innocent did not simply accept or authorize all suggestions. The letters of February 1214 to the sees of Estonia and Riga granting them temporary exemption from metropolitan jurisdiction also shows that by 1214 he took a more cautious line and was unwilling to simply authorize any requests concerning the region. Innocent's reactive, and sometimes almost indifferent, attitude towards the missionary activities and new ecclesiastical organization of the Baltic

raises the question whether Innocent had granted Anders legatine powers over the mission in his letters of January 1206 (*DD*, vol. 1:4, nos. 109–10). The *Gesta* states: “*Interea venit ad ipsum [Innocent III] relatio ex parte Lundensis archiepiscopi, quem Legatum direxerat ad convertendos paganos . . .*” (*PL*, vol. 214, col cxlv). The *Gesta* was probably completed around 1208 (D. Gress-Wright, “The *Gesta Innocentii III*. Text, Introduction and Commentary” (unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr College, 1981), pp. 109*–10*). It may be that the author interpreted the authorization given to Anders in the letters of January 1206 as a granting of legatine rights also in the missionary fields and hence decided to refer to him as legate. The papal letters from the years immediately after 1206 do not address Anders as papal legate, whereas the title is used consistently in letters to Anders after 1212.

¹⁷³ See pp. 86–7 above.

¹⁷⁴ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 427. Innocent had great support and veneration for Henry (Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, p. 91, p. 100 with note 64, and p. 205). For Innocent's relations with Poland and Henry, see also Urszula Borkowska Osu, “Innocent III and the Countries of the “New Christianity”—Poland and Hungary”, in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998* [Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Nuovi Studi Storici 55/Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria XLIV], ed. A. Sommerlechner, 2 vols (Rome: la Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2003), vol. 2, particularly pp. 1180ff. For Innocent's use of and support for his friends and former fellow students, see W. Imkamp, *Das Kirchenbild Innocenz' III. (1198–1216)* [*Päpste und Papsttum* 22] (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983), pp. 29, 31 and 104–5; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, pp. 20–1 and 26ff. See however also Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 428, note 15.

region should not only be explained by the fact that the pope was preoccupied by several other causes such as the spiritual reform of the Church, the crusades to the Holy Land, the fight against the heretics in southern France, the crusades against the Muslims in Spain, the succession dispute in Germany and the threat it posed to the organization of a new crusade to the Holy Land, and the struggle to re-establish papal authority in those parts of Italy which had been seized by the Hohenstaufen. A crucial factor was the lack of reliable, unbiased information about events in the far away Baltic region. The only sources of information for the pope were those envoys who came to the papal curia to gain authorizations and permissions for their own ends, forcing him to rely on information from exactly those who had their own agenda. Information was thus fragmented, discontinuous and piecemeal. This led to some confusion as witnessed by the problems in October 1213 over the Estonian sees. But Innocent did not give the developments in the region such priority that he decided to send a legate to the region to gather information and present him with an overview of the situation.

Conclusions

Innocent III authorized several Baltic expeditions which he regarded as being conducted in defence of the missions and the newly converted there and as serving to expand the Christian faith. He made a distinction between the campaigns authorized for the Livonian mission and that authorized for the Danish king. This is clear not only in the different purposes stated for these campaigns, but also by the terminology used. The privileges granted these campaigns were, however, practically identical.

The fact that Innocent in 1204 allowed commutation of vows from the Holy Land to the Baltic, albeit only for crusaders too weak or impoverished to fulfil their original vow, shows that he associated the Baltic expeditions with those in aid of the Holy Land. Also the use of certain phrases in the letters concerning the royal Danish campaign shows that he viewed these expeditions as holy service to God, in the same way as crusades to the Holy Land. He seems to have regarded the Baltic expeditions as being of essentially the same character as crusades to the Holy Land, but he did not perceive them as being of equivalent importance and he made no attempts

to equate the two. This is evidenced by the indulgences granted to the Baltic campaigns which were formulated simply as remission of sins, without any further specification. The elaborate indulgence formula granting a plenary indulgence which was consistently used in letters concerning crusades to the Holy Land was never applied by him to the Baltic undertakings. Furthermore, only those who themselves participated in these campaigns enjoyed remission of sins, whereas the crusades to the Holy Land were viewed as being so important that several other forms of service and aid merited indulgence. Only in 1215 did those supporting the Baltic expeditions financially also receive an indulgence; but even then it was confined to a smaller group than the Holy Land. Nor did the pope grant participants the temporal privileges enjoyed by crusaders going to the East, apart from occasionally granting them papal protection.

Innocent thus chose a middle way in which he authorized campaigns in the Baltic and gave some indication that he associated them with the crusades to the East, but did not declare them to be on a par with those in aid of Jerusalem. The greater importance of crusades to the Holy Land is also witnessed by the fact that he was keen to ensure that only those who for financial or health reasons could not go to the Holy Land went to the Baltic region instead, thus reserving the most resourceful crusaders for the East. Innocent maintained the idea of a hierarchy of penitential warfare where crusades to the Holy Land rated higher than campaigns in the Baltic.

During Innocent's pontificate, papal policy on the Baltic campaigns was thus a cautious one. It is noticeable that he never referred to the letters of his predecessors, which may indicate that he disagreed with the plenary indulgences granted to the Baltic expeditions by Eugenius III and probably also Celestine III and with the programme of forceful conversion resulting from Celestine's letters. He was, in effect, forced by the many petitions from the region to form a policy on these ventures, as the bishops, archbishops and kings involved in the fight against the pagans in the Baltic increasingly involved the curia in the planning of their undertakings. These powers had become more experienced in dealing with the curia and had realized the benefits of gaining papal support for their warfare against the pagans, but it may also be that they had been influenced by the crusading ideology developed around crusades to the Holy Land. Bishop Albert of Livonia thus appears to have tried to have the campaigns in aid of his mission recognized as being parallel to the crusades in aid of

the Holy Land when at the Fourth Lateran Council he appealed for support of his mission.

Innocent acknowledged his responsibility for the conversion of non-Christians and endorsed the new missions in the Baltic, stressing that the missionaries were to work through peaceful means. In reply to reports and queries from the missionary bishops, he advised the missionaries and made suggestions concerning their organization. His advice was often inspired by his predecessors' policies, but he also devised new measures which he believed would facilitate the missionary work. However, his most daring idea, that of unifying the missionaries into one order, was not taken up by the missionaries who preferred to continue along more conventional routes. Innocent thus supported the expansion of the Christian faith, and the subsequent extension of the ecclesiastical organization, but mission among non-Christians was given a lower priority than reform of the Church and internal mission.

Innocent was not deeply involved, or indeed occupied, with the expeditions in defence of the Baltic missions, their recruitment campaigns and organization. Rather, he took a passive, reactive role—simply authorizing plans initiated by local powers. But such an approach did not only characterize Innocent's attitude towards the Baltic undertakings; in his policy on crusades to the Holy Land, he was also often reactive, although he took great care to facilitate the organization of the crusades to the East. It is thus not Innocent's passivity that shows that the Baltic expeditions had a low priority for him, but the facts that he did not attempt to take firm control of these campaigns, that he only gave a partial indulgence, and that he only granted this indulgence to the core participants, thereby limiting the generation of manpower and resources aiding the Baltic expeditions.

The local powers involved in missionary activities may, however, have perceived the authorizations granted them in the papal bulls differently than was intended by the curia. The incident reported in the *Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* at the Christmas court of Philip of Swabia in 1199¹⁷⁵ shows that the local powers regarded the papal bulls as open to interpretation, and another entry in this chronicle shows how the local powers perceived themselves to have some lee-

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter One, pp. 68–9.

way in the application of the papal authorizations. As mentioned above, around 1208 Bishop Albert wished to dissuade a group of crusaders from returning home and he invited them to resume “the sign of the cross in return for a plenary remission of their previously neglected sins and promised them a greater indulgence and eternal life for the greater labour of their long pilgrimage”.¹⁷⁶ This suggests that Albert, or Henry, believed that Albert had the authority to grant indulgences, although this, of course, was a papal prerogative.

Innocent often used the crusades as an instrument to enforce his policies. He authorized crusades, with a plenary indulgence, against the heretics in southern France, against political opponents, in Spain, and in aid of the Holy Land. He changed the use of crusade concept by applying it also against political opponents, again with the full indulgence, but yet he chose not to indicate that the campaigns in the Baltic were on a par with these other wars in the service of the Church.

¹⁷⁶ See Chapter One, p. 70 with note 166.

CHAPTER THREE

HONORIUS III (1216–27) AND THE CRUSADES IN THE BALTIC REGION

The missions in the Baltic region continued to make progress despite increasing rivalry and territorial disputes between the secular and ecclesiastical powers involved. Under the leadership of Bishop Albert of Riga the mission in Livonia succeeded in subjecting the Livonian lands south, east and north of Riga, and the campaigns soon spread into the southern and central Estonian lands north of Livonia. These advances were obtained through almost continual warfare undertaken by crusaders from northern Germany who had responded to Bishop Albert's many recruiting campaigns and the papal crusade proclamations which Albert had obtained from Rome. The conquests were often followed by hurried mass baptism of the subjected peoples, but gradually a parochial administration came into place and priests began the instruction of the new converts; among these priests was Henry, the author of the Livonian Chronicle. The missionary powers' progress was, however, often slowed down by pagan resistance and rebellions.

The Danes had not given up their plans for gaining influence in the eastern Baltic region, and in 1219 King Valdemar II embarked on a crusade to Estonia after appeals from Bishop Albert who had travelled to Denmark in 1218.¹ The Livonian mission and the Latin Christian powers' hold of Livonia were under threat from a recent Estonian-Russian alliance, and the mission suffered a crisis in recruitment.² Albert was therefore keen to obtain Valdemar's support and

¹ The contact between Albert and Valdemar had been mediated by Count Albert of Holstein and Orlamünde (letter of 25 January 1217: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 101; see also the account of Henry of Livonia: *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, [*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XXIV*] (Darmstadt, 1959), XXI:1–6, pp. 210–16; V. la Cour, "Albert", in *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, ed. S. C. Bech, 3rd edition, 16 vols. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1979–84), vol. 1, pp. 103–4).

² For such alliances with the Russians see Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXII:1, p. 218. For earlier Estonian-Russian alliances, see *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XX:7, p. 207; for the crisis in recruitment see p. 146 below with note 53.

promised the king the overlordship of the conquered lands in return for military assistance.³

In June 1219 a Danish expedition landed in northern Estonia where the Danes constructed a new fortress at Reval (Tallinn) and began the subjugation and conversion of the northern Estonians.⁴ The arrival of yet another power to claim part of the conquered lands was met with resentment by the other parties involved in the region, and the following years saw fierce competition for land and converts between the Danes, Bishop Albert and the Sword-Brothers. Valdemar maintained that both Estonia and Livonia had been promised to him by Albert, but Albert and his allies refused to give in.⁵ A solution was found in 1222 when Valdemar restored Livonia and everything pertaining to Livonia to the bishop of Riga with complete liberty. The king ceded the southern and central provinces of Estonia to the Sword-Brothers, while all spiritual rights here went to the bishop of Riga, but kept the northern provinces of Estonia as well as the overlordship of all of Estonia.⁶

This agreement provided only a brief respite in the power-struggle between the Christian powers in Livonia and Estonia. In the autumn of 1224 Bishop Albert petitioned the curia for a papal legate for the

³ The extent of the lands promised to Valdemar by Albert is not known and may not have been specified in any detail in the agreement which soon was to cause great strife among the powers involved (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXII:1, pp. 218–20).

⁴ See Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIII:2, pp. 230–2.

⁵ Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIII:10, pp. 250–2, XXIV:2–4, pp. 256–62, and XXV:1, pp. 266–8; letter of 19 April 1220: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 169; F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1965), p. 167. For the competition between these powers see also J. H. Lind, C. S. Jensen, K. V. Jensen and A. L. Bysted, *Danske korstog. Krig og mission i Østersøen* (Copenhagen: Høst og Søn, 2004), pp. 202ff. who also analyse Valdemar's use of the curia and its legate to Denmark in 1222–3, Gregorius de Crescentio.

⁶ Valdemar abandoned the royal rights in Saccala and Ungannia and in the small provinces of Nurmegunde (Nurmekund), Alempois, Mocha (Möhu), Waiga (Vaiga) and Sobolitz just north of Saccala and Ungannia to the Order. He kept the provinces Wiek (Läänemaa), Revalia (Rävala), Harria (Harjumaa), Jerwia (Järvamaa), and Vironia (Virumaa) and presumably also the not fully subjected island of Ösel (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXVI:2, pp. 280–2; Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, pp. 175–6). The agreement incorporated an agreement of 1220 between the Danes and the Order and confirmed an agreement of 1221 between the Danish archbishop and the Riga bishop. The Danish overlordship of Estonia entailed that the Order and the Riga bishop should render the king perpetual fealty and support him against Russians and pagans.

region. Pope Honorius III sent William (d. 1251), bishop of Modena, who arrived in the summer of 1225.⁷ During his stay William forced the Danes and the Germans to transfer all the northern Estonian provinces to his hands in order to calm a crisis which arose when the German vassals of the bishop of Odenpäh (Otepää) in southern Estonia invaded one of the northern Estonian provinces held by the Danes.⁸ One province, Harria, was soon returned to the Danes, but upon their return to Rome William and his chaplain, John, left the remaining northern Estonian provinces in the hands of the Sword-Brothers, the bishops of Riga and Leal (Lihula), and the town of Riga.⁹ The Danes were unable to assert their power in the region. The Danish realm was in effect paralysed because King Valdemar was held captive by Count Henry of Schwerin (1200–28) from May 1223 to December 1225 and then spent the next couple of years battling to re-conquer those north-German lands he had been forced to cede as terms for his release.¹⁰ By the middle of the 1220s the Danes had thus been driven completely out of the region.

While the sources do not allow us to follow the ongoing mission in Finland in any detail in this period, we are better informed about the new Prussian mission led by Bishop Christian. During the first years of his missionary work Christian had worked solely through preaching, but a pagan rebellion in 1215–16 led the parties involved in the mission to request papal authorization for the employment of crusades in its support. But, as in Livonia, the missionary project in Prussia was dogged by power-struggles between the missionary bishop and the Christian princes—in this case from Poland and Pomerania—who also were involved in the christianization and subjugation of the lands.¹¹

⁷ See the description by Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIX:2, p. 316; letter of 31 December 1224: *DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 29.

⁸ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIX:6, p. 322.

⁹ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIX:7, p. 324; letter of 30 January 1232: *DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 128; letter of [c. 20 November] 1234: *DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 199, § 12; Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, p. 220.

¹⁰ N. Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave. Danmarkshistorie uden retouche* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1971), pp. 287–91; letter of 17 November 1225: *DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 42.

¹¹ F. Blanke, “Die Missionsmethode des Bischofs Christian von Preussen”, *Altpreußische Forschungen* 4 (1927). Reprinted in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters* [*Wege der Forschung* 7], ed. H. Beumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), pp. 356–8.

Throughout these events the parties who were involved in the conquest and conversion of the central and eastern part of the Baltic region repeatedly appealed to the papal curia not only for authorizations of new campaigns, but also for confirmation of their rights and lands in order to support their claims in the territorial disputes.

Honorius III and the Baltic crusades

During his pontificate, Honorius III thus received a series of petitions for authorizations of new campaigns in the Baltic. These primarily concerned the missions in Livonia and Prussia, although he also was kept informed of the mission in Finland.¹² The requests relating to the Prussian mission came not only from its leader, Bishop Christian, but also from Polish and Pomeranian princes and the archbishop of Gnesen, who all wished to partake in the conversion and conquest of the Prussians. The petitions concerning the Livonian mission came mainly from Bishop Albert of Livonia, who continued his strategy of maintaining frequent contact with the curia, and from those he had persuaded to join his campaign.

In response, Honorius authorized a series of campaigns in aid of the Baltic missions. Honorius was generally careful to present the crusades he authorized in the Baltic as being defensive warfare aimed at protecting the missions there. In a letter of 6 May 1218 he explicitly stated that the Prussian crusade was to defend the Christians against the pagans, “*ad defendum fideles predictos contra barbaras nationes*”.¹³ In most of his other letters authorizing crusades in Prussia Honorius stated the aim less directly; in their *dispositio* he often simply exhorted

¹² In January 1221 he had received a letter from the Swedish archbishop describing the difficulties facing the mission in Finland; in reply he issued a letter prohibiting the Christians in the region from trading with the pagans (letter of 13 January 1221: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 64). No further letters are known to have been issued. It is not known whether the Swedish archbishop had requested further support; he may have hoped for more substantial aid, but, with bad timing, he may have approached the pope at exactly that time when he was still upholding a policy of not issuing indulgences to the Baltic expeditions. The Danish king and, briefly, the Swedish king also undertook campaigns in the eastern Baltic region during Honorius's pontificate, but no papal letters authorizing these are known.

¹³ Letter of 6 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkunden-Sammlung zur ältern Geschichte Preussens aus dem königlichen Geheimen Archiv zu Königsberg nebst Regesten*, ed. Voigt et al. 6 vols (Königsberg, 1836–61), vol. 1, no. 3.

the Christians to arm themselves against the pagans without any specification of the purpose¹⁴ or—with a more defensive implication—to fight for the new Christian communities.¹⁵ The defensive character of the campaigns was, however, clear from these letters' *arengae* which invariably contained references to the pagan attacks on the new converts.¹⁶ The crusades in aid of the Livonian mission were also justified as defensive warfare. In January 1217 Honorius replied to a request of Count Albert of Holstein and Orlamünde and allowed the commutation of vows from the Holy Land to Livonia for ten of the count's men. In his letter Honorius referred to the threats facing the mission in Livonia and thereby justified the campaign in which Albert was to take part as a defensive one.¹⁷ Similarly, when Honorius again in 1221 and 1222 issued letters concerning the Livonian mission, the crusaders were called upon to come to the aid of the new converts, although the pope here did not specify the dangers facing the new Church.¹⁸ Honorius thus appears to have seen the use of armed force as necessary to protect missionaries and converts against the attacks from the neighbouring pagans. In a letter of April 1221, *Si pro varietate*, to the prelates of Gnesen he expanded on this argument which suggests that he had given this much thought and that, when stating the defence of the converts as the motivation for the Baltic crusades, he was not simply copying his predecessor. He declared that he had previously been informed of the pagans' attacks on the converts in Prussia and that this led him to

¹⁴ Letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica seu ejusdem temporis Patrologia ab anno MCCXVI usque ad Concilii Tridentini tempora*, ed. C. A. Horoy, 6 vols (Paris, 1879–80), vol. 2, no. 220; letter of 3 March 1217: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 15.

¹⁵ Letter of 5 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 2; letter of 15 June 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 142; letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae Gentiumque Finitimarum Historiam Illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner, 4 vols (Rome, 1860–4), vol. 1, no. 27.

¹⁶ Letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 220; letter of 3 March 1217: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 15; letter of 5 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 2; letter of 6 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 3; letter of 15 June 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 142; letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27.

¹⁷ Letter of 25 January 1217: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 101.

¹⁸ Letter of 21 April 1221: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, 2 vols (Rome, 1888–1905), vol. 1, no. 3262, full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 11, fol. 109, epist. 535; letter of 18 January 1222: *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. C. Rodenberg, [*Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*], 3 vols (Berlin, 1883–94), vol. 1, no. 189.

fear that they would relapse into paganism and that those who were about to be converted would be hindered from doing so. He had therefore issued a letter calling upon Christians to come to the aid of the converts.¹⁹

While in the letters proclaiming crusades in the Baltic region Honorius took care to emphasise that the crusades were defensive campaigns, he was less careful in letters regarding other aspects of the expeditions, because he also mentioned the conversion of the pagans. A letter of 16 May 1218 was addressed to those who had taken the cross to go to Prussia and was intended to ensure that the crusaders did not abuse their campaigns to further their own ends or seek material benefits. He clarified that their task was to “defend Bishop Christian of Prussia and those who recently had been baptized and converted against the pagans’ attacks”, but later in the letter he stated that they were to strive and work for the conversion of the pagans, not to force them into servitude, as this would deter other pagans from adopting the faith.²⁰ Similarly, in a very short letter of November 1226 in which he permitted the Sword-Brothers in Livonia to take crusaders there into their service temporarily, he described the crusaders as going to Livonia “to defend and expand the Catholic faith in that region”, “*pro fide catholica defendenda in illis partibus aut dilatanda*”.²¹ But these letters did not directly authorize the crusaders to use force to convert the pagans; rather, it seems, Honorius here merely expressed the hope that the outcome of the campaigns should be the expansion of the faith.

The extension of the indulgence to the Baltic crusades

The policy of Honorius deviated markedly from Innocent III’s in one important respect: the indulgence. In his first letter granting an indulgence for a Baltic expedition, *Litteras tam episcoporum* from February

¹⁹ Letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27.

²⁰ “. . . *ad defendendum uenerabilem fratrem nostrum . . . Pruscie episcopum nouiter baptizatos et conuersos ab incursibus paganorum . . .*”, “*Quocirca uniuersitatem uestram monendam duximus et hortamur per apostolica scripta mandantes. quatinus non que uestra sunt sed que Christi, querentes. ad conuertendum ad deum. non ad subiugandum uestre seruituti paganos intendere studeatis. ne quod absit illi timentes subici seruituti. in sui erroris pertinacia fortius obstinentur*”: letter of 16 May 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 139; this letter was written after requests from Bishop Christian. See also an almost identical letter of 12 May 1219: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 149.

²¹ Letter of 27 November 1226: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 91.

1217, Honorius granted participants the full crusading indulgence, expressed as “*concessa . . . ea venia peccatorum que cruce signatis transitoris ad partes Ierosolymitanas indulgetur*”.²² This letter, however, dealt with commutation of vows from the Holy Land to the Baltic, and it is therefore not surprising that crusaders were allowed to retain the same indulgence; this was also seen in Innocent III’s pontificate. But the next letter from Honorius concerning the Baltic region, *Compatientes angustiis* of March 1217, granted men, explicitly those who had not taken vows to go to the Holy Land, the same full crusading indulgence if they go to Prussia: “to those as well as to all who at their expense send others there or make donations to their aid, in accordance with their abilities, is granted, according to the amount of their aid and the depth of their devotion remission of sins in accordance with that given to those who go to Jerusalem”.²³ This marks a complete change from Innocent III. Not only did the participants receive a full crusade indulgence, similar to that granted to crusaders to the Holy Land, but Honorius also expanded the ways in which one could receive an indulgence by granting indulgences also to those who sent others in their place or contributed financially to such expeditions.

Honorius’s formulation of the indulgence for the Baltic crusades made use of expressions and words used by Innocent III in his standard formulation of the crusade indulgence for crusades to the Holy Land. As we have seen, Innocent developed a new indulgence formula which was first seen in his call for the Fourth Crusade, *Post miserabile* of 1198. Here Innocent granted crusaders going to the Holy Land a plenary indulgence, “*plena venia peccatorum*”, and constructed a new formula which contained the indulgence and specified who was to receive this. This formula was used, with only minor changes, in all Innocent’s subsequent letters on crusades to the Holy Land and was given its final form in *Ad liberandam*, the decree on the Fifth Crusade from the Fourth Lateran Council which met in 1215 under

²² The pope freed the archbishop of Gnesen from his vow to go to the Holy Land and allowed *crucesignati* who were physically or financially unable to go to the Holy Land and *crucesignati* from the two Polish duchies nearest Prussia to commute their vows from the Holy Land to Prussia: letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 220.

²³ “. . . tam illis quam eis, qui aliquos illuc in suis mittent expensis, vel ad eorum subventionem de suis facultatibus ministrabunt, concessa iuxta quantitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum venia peccatorum, secundum quod transitoris Ierosolimam indulgetur”: letter of 3 March 1217: *PUB* 1.1, no. 15.

Innocent's presidency.²⁴ Honorius now used Innocent's expressions and words from the indulgence concerning the Holy Land to make an indulgence formulation for expeditions to the Baltic region, clearly demonstrating that he perceived the two to be very similar enterprises.

This new formulation of the indulgence and the list of potential beneficiaries were used in two more letters from Honorius, of 5 May 1218 and 15 June 1218.²⁵ The letter of 5 May was a reissue of Innocent III's letter *Alto diuine* of 29 December 1215, but Honorius made a couple of changes. He changed the place name from Livonia to Prussia and made another, very important change: he substituted Innocent's indulgence formula, which had awarded those participating in the expedition and those contributing financially to it an unspecified partial indulgence, worded as "*remissio peccatorum*" and "*indulgentia peccatorum*", with his newly created indulgence formula, thus granting participants and those who sent others in their place the full crusading indulgence. An indulgence was also to be enjoyed by those who supported the expedition financially.²⁶ Honorius inserted his own indulgence formulation in the last part of the letter, replacing Innocent's unspecified indulgence, clearly demonstrating the difference between his indulgence policy and that of his predecessor. It was a clear papal statement that crusaders going to the Baltic should now enjoy a plenary indulgence. The letter of 5 May 1218 concerned

²⁴ Letter of 15 August [1198]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, ed. O. Hageneder et al., in progress (Graz, Cologne and Vienna, 1964ff.), vol. 1, no. 336. Part of its indulgence formula read: "*Huius quoque remissionis volumus esse participes iuxta quantitatem subsidii ac precipue secundum devotionis affectum, qui ad subventionem illius terre de bonis suis congrue ministrabunt*". This was repeated practically verbatim in *Graves orientalis* of 31 December [1199]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 2, no. 258; in *Nisi nobis* of 4 January [1200]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 2, no. 259; in *Utinam dominus* of 10 December 1208: *PL*, vol. 215, cols 1500–3; and in *Quia major* of [19–29] April 1213: 'Urkundenbeilage', ed. G. Tangl, in G. Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III.* (Weimar, 1929), pp. 88–97. However, in *Ad liberandam* of 30 November 1215, the passage read, if Alberigo's transcription is to be trusted: "*Huius quoque remissionis volumus et concedimus esse participes, iuxta qualitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum, omnes qui ad subventionem ipsius Terrae de bonis suis congrue ministrabunt . . .*": *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo et al. (Basel, 1962), pp. 243–7. In 1215 Innocent thus substituted "*quantitatem*" with "*qualitatem*", apparently wishing to emphasize that it was not the amount, but the quality of the aid of the faithful that was central.

²⁵ Letter of 5 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 2; letter of 15 June 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 142.

²⁶ Letter of 5 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 2. Compare with letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

those who had not yet taken any vows to go on crusades and so it was not a case of retaining an indulgence when commuting vows.²⁷

A phrase in the letter *Litteras tam episcoporum* from February 1217 could be read as implying that Honorius, by granting a full crusade indulgence to participants in the Baltic expeditions, simply followed directions given at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. In the letter the pope gave those going to the Baltic “*venia peccatorum, que approbatione Concilii generalis cruce signatis generaliter indulgetur*”.²⁸ Helmut Roscher seems to take this at face value, stating that participants in Baltic expeditions “erhielten den Plenarablaß, wie ihn das Konzil von 1215 den Kreuzfahrern allgemein (generaliter) bewilligt hatte” and referring to ‘die Ablassbewilligung des Konzils’.²⁹ But it is very doubtful whether anything was in fact decided at the Fourth Lateran Council about the Baltic indulgence. The crusading decree *Ad liberandam* does not mention the Baltic expeditions, and Henry of Livonia does not refer to any discussion of the indulgence in his account of the meeting between Bishop Albert of Livonia and Innocent III during the council.³⁰ The letter issued by Innocent after the council, on 29 December 1215, authorizing expeditions to Livonia, does not grant participants the same full crusading indulgence as the one given to crusaders to the Holy Land, but simply grants participants a more general *remissio peccatorum* and *indulgentia peccatorum*; if a new indulgence had been decided on, surely this letter would have reflected that. Honorius himself seems to have realized that his formulation in 1217 could be, or perhaps already had been, misunderstood and in May 1218 he clarified his remarks about the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council by describing the indulgence as “*eandem . . . indulgentiam que subvenientibus terre sancte concessa est in concilio generali*”.³¹ When granting a plenary indulgence for the Baltic crusades, Honorius was thus not following decisions made at the Fourth Lateran Council, but was altering the previous papal policy on these crusades.

²⁷ The following day Honorius issued a letter to those who already had taken a vow to go to the Holy Land, but were too poor or physically weak to do so. He commuted their vows so that they could go to Prussia instead, with the full indulgence: letter of 6 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 3.

²⁸ Letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 220.

²⁹ H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* [*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 21] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969), p. 208.

³⁰ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XIX:7, p. 196.

³¹ Letter of 6 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 3.

Honorius consistently maintained the new policy of granting crusaders in the Baltic a plenary indulgence—rather than a partial one—throughout his pontificate. In the letter *Venerabilis frater noster* of November 1220 he temporarily revoked the indulgence for Livonia and Prussia, but in the letter *Si pro varietate* of April 1221 to the clergy of the church province of Gnesen he again gave indulgences to crusaders going to Prussia.³² The revocation was lifted for Livonian crusades the next day when Honorius allowed the archbishop of Magdeburg to fulfil his crusading vow in either the Holy Land or Livonia.³³ In January 1222 this was followed by a letter to Saxony granting those who went to Livonia to defend the Christians there the full crusade indulgence.³⁴ So when Honorius authorized crusades, the crusaders themselves always received a full indulgence described as being exactly the same as that given to crusaders going to the East.

That this was indeed new papal policy is confirmed by Honorius himself in *Si pro varietate* of 1221. In this letter he laid out his entire policy towards Prussia up to that point: how at first he had granted crusaders there a plenary indulgence—this must refer to the series of letters which he issued in 1217 and 1218—but then, moved by pleas from participants in the Fifth Crusade for more manpower, he had revoked the full indulgence in order to gather all Christians behind the cause of the Holy Land; this must refer to the decision in his letter *Venerabilis frater noster* of November 1220. The letter went on to explain how now, having been warned that the progress made by the mission in Prussia was endangered by the lack of western support, the pope had decided to reissue the full crusading indulgence. He stated almost apologetically that his changes in policy were not a sign of inconsistency, but due to careful consideration, “*Si pro varietate negotiorum vel temporum consilia provide variamus, non est imputandum inconstantie levitati, sed maturitati potius ascribendum*”.³⁵

³² Letter of 27 November 1220: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 2796; full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 11, fol. 45, epist. 234; letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27.

³³ Letter of 21 April 1221: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 3262; full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 11, fol. 109, epist. 535.

³⁴ Letter of 18 January 1222: *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1, no. 189.

³⁵ Letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27.

Honorius also often extended the circle of men receiving an indulgence for aiding the Baltic crusades: in letters of March 1217, May 1218 and June 1218 not only those who actively participated in the crusades, but also those who sent others in their place or supported the crusade financially would benefit.³⁶ This too was a new development. Only once, in December 1215, had Innocent extended the circle of people receiving indulgences for supporting the Baltic crusades and then only to those supporting the crusades financially.³⁷

By granting a full crusading indulgence and by extending it on a number of occasions to a wider circle of those servicing the Baltic crusades Honorius gave fuller support to the Baltic expeditions than his predecessor. The promise of a plenary indulgence which was explicitly the same as that granted to participants in crusades in aid of the Holy Land also shows that he consistently made a parallel between the crusades to the Holy Land and the Baltic expeditions and that he regarded crusades in the Baltic as being of essentially the same character as crusades to the East. This is also reflected in the language of his letters which is similar to that used in letters concerning crusades in aid of the Holy Land. A letter of 1217 described expeditions to Livonia as “*seruitium Ihesu Christi*”;³⁸ participants in expeditions to Livonia were referred to as “*eos, qui assumpto crucis signaculo se ad succursum Livoniae devoverunt*”³⁹ and participants in both Prussian and Livonian enterprises were often called “*crucesignati*” or “*peregrini*”.⁴⁰ In addition, a letter of 1226 to the citizens of Lübeck demonstrated how Honorius saw participants in the Baltic campaigns as crusaders on a par with crusaders serving the Holy Land. He wrote: “Although all *crucesignati* generally are under the

³⁶ Letter of 3 March 1217: *PUB* 1.1, no. 15; letter of 5 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 2; letter of 6 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 3; letter of 15 June 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 142. There were, however, exceptions to this, as the papal letters of 14 February 1217, 20 April 1221 and 18 January 1222 only awarded those participating themselves an indulgence: letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 220; letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27; letter of 18 January 1222: *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1, no. 189.

³⁷ Letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

³⁸ Letter of 25 January 1217: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 101.

³⁹ Letter of 30 April 1218: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 41.

⁴⁰ For instance letter of 16 May 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 139; letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27; letter of 29 October 1219: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 159.

protection of the Apostolic See, we take especially those *crucesignati* who happen to come to the port of Lübeck in order to go to the aid of the Holy Land or against the pagans in Livonia and Prussia under our protection and that of the Apostolic See".⁴¹

The priority given to the Fifth Crusade

Honorius did, however, regard the crusades to the Holy Land as having a higher immediate priority than the crusades in the Baltic, presumably because of the Fifth Crusade which had been the papacy's main project since the later years of Innocent's pontificate. During the preparations for the Fifth Crusade Honorius declared that the fight against the pagans was of less importance than the situation in the East. When in 1217 at the request of Count Albert of Holstein and Orlamünde he allowed the commutation of vows for ten of Albert's men, he stated that he was willing to do so even though a lesser good should not be replaced by a greater good, "*maiori bono proponi non debeat minus bonum*".⁴²

The greater priority ascribed by Honorius to the Fifth Crusade meant that the events during its course directly affected his policy on the Baltic crusades. The armies of the Fifth Crusade had, eventually, picked Damietta in Egypt as their target, and the siege of the city started in May 1218. Damietta was taken in November 1219, but the crusaders failed to take advantage of their new position, and on 30 August 1221 their army was defeated by the Muslim army at al-Mansura.⁴³ It was presumably these developments in the East which caused the change of papal policy in 1220, when the pope in May refused Bishop Christian's request to authorize a new expe-

⁴¹ "*Etsi omnes crucesignati generaliter sub apostolice sedis protectione consistant, specialiter tamen crucesignatos, quos ad portum Lubicensem undecumque venire contigerit, sive in terre sancte subsidium, sive contra paganos Livonie ac Prusie profecturos, sub nostra et apostolice sedis protectione recepimus . . .*": letter of 28 November 1226: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 57.

⁴² Letter of 25 January 1217: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 101. When copying Innocent's letter of 29 December 1215, Honorius also reiterated Innocent's phrase saying that "those who cannot serve [God] by coming to the aid of the Holy Land can at least serve him by supporting the people of Livonia", "*. . . hii qui ei seruire in subsidium terre sancte non possunt saltem in succursu Livonie gentis ei devotum exhibebant famulatum*": letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

⁴³ J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), pp. 146–9.

dition to Prussia, stating that the situation in the East was now so dire that all Christian resources must be concentrated on it.⁴⁴ In line with this policy, Honorius revoked the indulgences given to participants in Livonian and Prussian expeditions with the letter *Venerabilis frater noster* of November that year.⁴⁵ But as described above, this turned out to be only a temporary measure. He soon relaxed it and authorized new expeditions to Prussia and allowed the archbishop of Magdeburg to commute his vow to Livonia.⁴⁶

The priority given to the crusades in aid of the Holy Land is also reflected in the fact that during the preparations for the Fifth Crusade and while the crusade was under way, Honorius wished to reserve the most useful men for the cause of Jerusalem. The only deviation from this general policy of stating restrictions on permission to participate in the Baltic crusades—a letter of 20 April 1221 which did not mention any restrictions on recruitment to the Baltic crusade and thus appeared to allow all men to join it—presumably came about because Honorius had been alarmed by the reports of the situation in Prussia. It was his policy that able-bodied men who had already taken a vow to go in aid of the Holy Land should fulfil it and not commute it to going to the Baltic instead. Letters of March 1217, June 1218 and January 1222⁴⁷ emphasised that only men who had not yet taken any other crusading vows should be exhorted to go to the Baltic. Similarly, a letter of May 1218 allowed recruitment to the Baltic only of men who had not taken vows to go in aid of the Holy Land, because they, for unnamed reasons, were unable to do so.⁴⁸ The priority given to the Fifth Crusade also led to only

⁴⁴ Letter of 8 May 1220: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 37. See also letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27.

⁴⁵ Letter of 27 November 1220: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 2796; full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 11, fol. 45, epist. 234.

⁴⁶ Letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27; letter of 21 April 1221: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 3262; full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 11, fol. 109, epist. 535

⁴⁷ Letter of 3 March 1217: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 15; letter of 15 June 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 142; letter of 18 January 1222: *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1, no. 189.

⁴⁸ Letter of 5 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 2. This letter of Honorius from 5 May 1218 copied Innocent's letter of 29 December 1215 (*DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61), but whereas Innocent's letter had specified that "*Cum igitur plures existant qui tum debilitate virium tum rerum defectu non audent suis humeris affigere signum crucis in terre sancte subsidium profecturi eis in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum . . .*", Honorius's did not. He simply wrote: "*Cum igitur plures ex vobis existant qui non disponunt suis humeris affigere signum crucis in terre sancte subsidium profecturi eis in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum . . .*".

infirm or poor *crucesignati* being allowed to commute their vows to go to the Baltic.⁴⁹ There were exceptions to this, as Honorius in some specific cases allowed small, well defined groups of able-bodied men to commute vows from the Holy Land to the Baltic. This was seen in the case of Count Albert's men in January 1217, in the permission given to men of the two duchies near Prussia to commute vows in February 1217, in the case of the archbishop of Magdeburg in April 1221, and in the case of an unnamed Polish duke, who in April 1221 was allowed to commute his vow from the Holy Land to Prussia.⁵⁰ But Honorius generally took care in his letters to emphasise that able-bodied *crucesignati* should fulfil their vows and join the crusade to the East.

The priority ascribed to the Fifth Crusade is also reflected in the fact that Honorius, like his predecessors, did not involve the curia in the planning, organization and recruitment for the Baltic crusades. He did not instigate any campaigns there, but merely authorized plans suggested to him by parties already involved. The many papal letters of May and June 1218, initiating a new wave of campaigns in Prussia by urging Christians in the surrounding church provinces to support the Prussian mission, are clearly responses to requests from the bishop of Prussia who at that time had an envoy at the papal curia.⁵¹ The Prussian mission had been threatened by a recent pagan rebellion⁵² and furthermore seems to have suffered from declining recruitment in the years around 1217, a problem which also affected the Livonian mission. This was probably in part due to the Fifth Crusade which many Germans had joined.⁵³ This must have

⁴⁹ The letters of 14 February 1217 (*Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 220), 6 May 1218 (*Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 3), 15 June 1218 (*DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 142) and 17 April 1221 (*Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 26) allowed men who had taken a vow to go on crusades in aid of the Holy Land to commute their vow to the Baltic, but explicitly only those physically or financially unable to fulfil their original vow.

⁵⁰ Letter of 25 January 1217: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 101; letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 220; letter of 21 April 1221: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 3262, full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 11, fol. 109, epist. 535; letter of 17 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 26.

⁵¹ Letter of 15 June 1218: "*Volentes etiam episcopus et alii predicti subueniri fidelibus tribulatis illorum presertim instanter implorant auxilium ad resistendum barbaram nationem . . .*": *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 142; E. Pitz, *Papsteskript und Kaiserreskript im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1971), pp. 88–90.

⁵² Blanke, "Die Missionsmethode des Bischofs Christian von Preussen", pp. 356–8.

⁵³ Henry of Livonia (*Henrici Chronicon Livoniae XXI:1*, p. 211) makes it clear that the Livonian mission faced declining recruitment in the years around 1217. For German

left the bishop eager to call on the pope for renewed support. When Honorius, as we have seen, reissued an indulgence to participants in Prussian expeditions in 1221, he was reacting to a warning that the new Church in Prussia was seriously endangered. He did not specify where this appeal for renewed support for Prussia came from, but he replied to letters from several churchmen from the region in that spring.⁵⁴ The letter of January 1222 approving an expedition to Livonia was probably given after pressure from Bishop Albert of Livonia who, according to Henry of Livonia, again had problems of recruitment,⁵⁵ presumably because of the temporary withdrawal of the indulgence for Livonia and the ongoing preparations for the proposed crusade of Frederick II. Bishop Albert had an envoy at the papal curia at this time and the new Church in Livonia received several letters in February 1222.⁵⁶

Honorius did very little to influence the organization of the Baltic crusades. In several letters exhorting the faithful to support Bishop Christian in Prussia, he emphasised that crusaders were to consult the bishop about their campaigns⁵⁷ and the Polish duke, who in April 1221 was allowed to commute his vow from the Holy Land to Prussia, was also instructed to join the Prussian crusade only after consultation with Bishop Christian.⁵⁸ These *caveats* are likely to have been responses to requests from Christian who fought to maintain control over the Prussian mission. Honorius took care to instruct crusaders not to outmanoeuvre Bishop Christian at least with regard to the Prussian campaigns, but he did not attempt to gain direct control over them by dispatching a legate. Nor did he try to become involved in the strategy; he did not suggest the coordination of the

participation in the Fifth Crusade see Oliver of Paderborn, 'Historia Damiatina', ed. H. Hoogeweg, in *Die Schriften des kölnen Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus* [Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart CCII], ed. H. Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894), Ch. 48–9, pp. 252–3.

⁵⁴ Letter of 17 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 26; letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27; letter of 21 April 1221: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 3262, full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 11, fol. 109, epist. 535.

⁵⁵ See Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXV:1, pp. 266–8.

⁵⁶ As evidenced by the wording of a letter of 8 February 1222: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 55. See also *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 2, nos 3786–9.

⁵⁷ Letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 220; letter of 3 March 1217: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 15; letter of 16 May 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 139; letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27.

⁵⁸ Letter of 17 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 26.

crusades into one grand-scale operation, but simply, year after year, allowed new crusades to be preached. There was no attempt to secure papal representation in the crusades in the Baltic. A legate was dispatched in 1224, as will be discussed later, but this was not directly in relation to the conduct of the crusades there.⁵⁹ This is, of course, in complete contrast to the line taken in the Fifth Crusade where Honorius implemented, with various alterations, the detailed policy of his predecessor and wished to ensure papal representation during the expedition through the employment of Legate Pelagius.⁶⁰

Nor did Honorius's letters contain any suggestions relating to recruitment. Although some of them exhorted the local clergy to preach crusades for the Baltic region,⁶¹ none gave specific instructions on this important matter. The organization of the preaching was left to the missionary bishops and the local clergy.⁶² While the curia instigated and closely coordinated the preaching campaign for the Fifth Crusade, this strategy was not employed for the Baltic crusades. Honorius simply maintained the local recruitment pattern used by his predecessors who all, Eugenius III apart, had directed their appeals to the regions immediately surrounding the missionary fields and hence had restricted recruitment for the Baltic crusades to Germany, Poland and the Scandinavian kingdoms. This well-established papal policy was, however, probably a response to the requests from the powers involved, the missionary bishops, who had established recruitment areas from where they drew most of their support, and the kings and archbishops, who do not seem to have tried to organize international expeditions, but preferred to keep them, and as a consequence their conquests, in their hands. The crusaders for Prussia were recruited in Poland, Pomerania, and the church provinces of Mainz, Magdeburg, Cologne, Salzburg and Trier, but a letter of 15 June 1218 also exhorted Christians in the provinces of Lund and Hamburg-Bremen to support Bishop Christian's mission. The province of Hamburg-Bremen was a core recruiting area for the Livonian

⁵⁹ See pp. 170ff. below.

⁶⁰ J. M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213–1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 107–20 and *passim*.

⁶¹ Letter of 15 June 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 142 (see *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 1441 for the list of recipients); letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27.

⁶² See for instance in letter of 3 March 1217: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 15; letter of 20 April 1221: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 27.

mission, which generally recruited crusaders from northern Germany, and Bishop Albert of Livonia may have resented this competition for participants. Honorius does not seem to have attempted to change the designated recruitment areas for the Baltic crusades or to avoid competition between their recruitment campaigns.

While Honorius saw the crusades to the East as his first priority, he supported the crusades in the Baltic by securing for them the necessary financial resources. His awareness of this issue may have stemmed from a debate at the Fourth Lateran Council about financing crusades in general and also, perhaps, from his office as papal chamberlain before his election as pope.⁶³ This debate was reflected in Innocent III's letter *Alto diuine* of 29 December 1215 which for the first time granted an indulgence to those who supported Baltic expeditions financially, as mentioned above. Honorius developed this policy and went further than his predecessors to secure funding for the Baltic crusades. Not only did he often grant indulgences to those supporting the expeditions financially,⁶⁴ but he also authorized the churches of several northern church provinces to collect donations regularly from their congregations, in support of Bishop Christian's mission in Prussia in 1218 and, in an almost identical letter, in aid of the activities of the bishops of Livonia in 1224.⁶⁵ But the priority given to the crusades to the Holy Land can also be seen in this papal concern for the financing of the Baltic activities. Whereas the concern for financial aid to the Holy Land had led the pope to impose a tax on the Church,⁶⁶ in the case of the Baltic activities he only authorized collection of voluntary contributions.

Honorius as an innovator

It has often been assumed that in general Honorius III simply continued the policies of his predecessor. For instance, Helmut Roscher states that there are no major differences in the crusading policies

⁶³ See p. 151 below.

⁶⁴ Letter of 3 March 1217: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 15; letter of 5 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus* vol. 1, no. 2; letter of 6 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 3; letter of 15 June 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 142.

⁶⁵ Letter of 6 May 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 135 (see also letter of 29 October 1219: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 159); letter of 16 November 1224: *Historica Russiæ Monumenta*, ed. A. J. Turgenev, 2 vols (St. Petersburg, 1841), vol. 1, no. 14.

⁶⁶ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 89, pp. 92–3, and pp. 97–8.

of Innocent III and Honorius III, and that Honorius did not add any new features to the Baltic policy of Innocent.⁶⁷ This is not the case. Honorius knew, of course, Innocent's letters on the Baltic crusades and he used these to emphasise the continuity between his policy and that of his predecessor. On 5 May 1218 he reissued Innocent III's letter *Alto diuine* of December 1215, but made a crucial change to the indulgence, as we have seen.⁶⁸ Innocent had in this letter compared the newly converted and the persecutions they suffered from the neighbouring pagans to the persecutions endured by Israel fleeing Egypt. In a letter of 6 May 1218 Honorius also employed this image of Israel to describe the situation of the newly converted in the Baltic region,⁶⁹ and he was influenced by the biblical images evoked by Innocent III in other letters. Quoting from the Book of Job, Honorius used Jordan as an image of the Christians in 1217; this had been used by Innocent III in letters concerning the heresy in France in 1198 and 1204 and concerning the pagans in the Baltic region in 1204 and 1209.⁷⁰ Honorius also drew on ideas formulated or sanctioned at the Fourth Lateran Council concerning the financing of such expeditions and concerning the use of trade sanctions as a means to weaken the enemy.⁷¹ Despite this intimate knowledge of Innocent's letters and policies, Honorius chose not to follow the example set by his predecessor, but to carve out a new policy on the Baltic crusades by giving crusaders a plenary indulgence and thus upgrading the Baltic crusades to parity with the crusades in aid of the Holy Land, and by often expanding the circle of people receiving an indulgence for supporting the Baltic crusades. Honorius thereby went further than Innocent in ensuring support for the Baltic mission. Moreover, he not only supported the by now

⁶⁷ Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III.*, pp. 209–11. Christoph Maier (*Preaching the crusades. Mendicant friars and the cross in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 3) describes Honorius as “a faithful follower of the politics of his predecessor”. See also J. M. Powell, “Honorius and the Leadership of the Crusade”, *The Catholic Historical Review* LXIII:4 (1977), pp. 521–2, for a discussion of the view that Honorius merely maintained the policies of Innocent III.

⁶⁸ Letter of 5 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no 2; letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61.

⁶⁹ Letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61; letter of 6 May 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 135.

⁷⁰ See Chapter Two, pp. 109–10 above.

⁷¹ He issued letters forbidding trade with pagans threatening the mission (letter of 15 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 10; letter of 13 January 1221: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 64).

well established crusades in Livonia, but also allowed the mission in Prussia to be supported by crusades.

Why did Honorius make this shift in the papal policy on the Baltic crusades? As James Powell has pointed out, Honorius's policies varied from those of Innocent on a number of issues. For example, Honorius planned to involve Emperor Frederick as leader of the Fifth Crusade, in a move which ran counter to Innocent's policy of securing complete papal leadership of this crusade. Rather than following Innocent's line, Honorius was probably inspired by Pope Clement III's policy on papal-imperial crusade co-operation.⁷² Honorius's views may in some ways have been more in accordance with those of Clement III and Celestine III. He had held key positions at the curia during the pontificates of both these popes: he was chamberlain from 1188 and furthermore had been acting chancellor from the autumn of 1194 to the autumn of 1197, thus controlling both chancery and chamber.⁷³ Honorius gave up his post as chamberlain when Innocent was elected pope in 1198 and did not hold a leading position in the curia during Innocent's pontificate.⁷⁴ So Honorius had probably not had a significant influence on papal policy in that period and may not have felt obligated to pursue his predecessor's policy. It has even been suggested that there was some hostility between the two.⁷⁵ But why did he decide to take this particular line on the Baltic crusades? His theological and ecclesiological ideas still need further study, but some suggestions can be offered.

In the early months of 1217, Honorius received a series of letters describing the state of the mission in the Baltic region and the attacks suffered by the converts and missionaries at the hand of the pagans. These letters came from the archbishop of Gnesen and Bishop Christian of Prussia, and the papal replies show that the reports had

⁷² Powell, "Honorius and the Leadership of the Crusade", pp. 522–3.

⁷³ He dated letters between 6 November 1194 and 10 September 1197: J. E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* [*Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* third series, 21] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 1–2 and p. 15. For Honorius's family background and early career, see *op. cit.*, pp. 1–12.

⁷⁴ Sayers, *Papal Government and England*, p. 24; C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 570.

⁷⁵ Sayers, *Papal Government and England*, pp. 15–16.

described the situation in Prussia in gloomy detail. Reports on the state of affairs in Livonia were perhaps also received from Count Albert of Holstein and Orlamünde along with his request for the commutation of his men's vows. The count's petition may have been supported by reports from the Danish Archbishop Anders of Lund whom Honorius held in high regard and who had envoys at the curia at the time.⁷⁶ It could have been these reports which spurred the pope to come to the aid of the converts in Prussia in March 1217 with letters giving an indulgence greater than that granted by his predecessor. It is possible that this raising of the status of the crusades against the pagans to equivalence with those in aid of the Holy Land was also influenced by the fact that Honorius had issued letters a few weeks earlier allowing commutation of vows from the Holy Land to Livonia: on 14 February 1217 the archbishop of Gnesen had received such a permit for certain *crucesignati* from his province, while on 25 January the pope had responded positively to Count Albert's petition for the commutation of vows for ten of his men.⁷⁷ Having already allowed this, the granting of a full crusade indulgence to crusaders fighting in the Baltic lands may have seemed a logical next step.

Another explanation may be that since Honorius saw participation in crusades as a genuine means to salvation, he wanted to make this available to more people whatever the theatre of war. Participation in crusades was perceived as an act of penance, undertaken to make amends for one's sins and gain salvation. Bernard of Clairvaux had elaborated on this in his theme of *tempus acceptabile* in which he emphasised that crusades were an opportunity for salvation offered Christians by God in his mercy: crusades were a way for God to test the faith of his people. God had set enemies of the Church in various parts of the world for the faithful to fight, and while he himself could easily defeat his enemies, he chose to leave this to the Christians, so that they could prove the strength of their faith and gain salvation.⁷⁸ This idea of a *tempus acceptabile* was used by Innocent III, as in his letter *Alto diuine* of 29 December 1215.⁷⁹ Honorius took

⁷⁶ See letter of 25 January 1217: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 102; see also Chapter Two, p. 88 with note 41.

⁷⁷ Letter of 25 January 1217: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 101.

⁷⁸ See Chapter One, p. 28.

⁷⁹ Letter of 29 December 1215: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 61. For Bernard's influence on Innocent, see B. Bolton, "Signposts from the Past: Reflections on Innocent III's

it up. Not only did he copy Innocent's letter of 29 December 1215 on 5 May 1218; he also reworked the idea in his letter of 6 May 1218 when he again referred to the new opportunity given by God for gaining salvation.⁸⁰ He had used this theme in letters concerning crusades to the Holy Land, for instance in a letter of 23 January 1217 to Lombardy,⁸¹ showing just how important this idea of a God-given opportunity for salvation was to his perception of the crusade endeavours and he may have wished to make it available to a wider circle of faithful.

Honorius III and the Dominicans

Honorius's interest in, and up-grading of, the Baltic crusades may also have been influenced by other factors. He took a keen interest in mission and preaching and he may have given fuller support than Innocent III to the fight against the heretics in France.⁸² It is possible that his views were influenced by Dominic Guzmán and his new Order, the *Ordo fratrum Praedicatorum*. At the start of Honorius's pontificate Dominic had led only a small group of followers based at Toulouse, but he often visited the curia to obtain papal letters concerning his Order, leading to frequent contact with the pope and his curia.⁸³

Dominic envisaged his Order as working for the cure of souls through preaching and mission and had himself undertaken mission

Providential Path", in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998* [Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Nuovi Studi Storici 55/Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria XLIV], ed. A. Sommerlechner (Rome: la Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2003), vol. 1, p. 24 and pp. 40ff.

⁸⁰ "*Rex Regum terre dominus universe, ac contentorum in ea suorum volens devotionem fidelium experiri non absque necessaria causa et utili ratione hostes reservat visibiles in diversis mundi partibus christianis, quos licet ipse, cui venti obediunt atque mare posset contereere solo verbo, vult tamen eos a suis propugnatoribus superari, ut qui offenderunt in multis, multiplicem habeant satisfaciendi materiam et salventur*": letter of 6 May 1218: *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus*, vol. 1, no. 3. Roscher (*Papst Innocenz III.*, p. 210, note 87) identifies this motive in Honorius's letters, but does not know Innocent's letter of 29 December 1215 and hence does not ascribe the idea of the application of this motive to the Baltic crusades to Innocent.

⁸¹ Letter of 23 January 1217: *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis Editio*, ed. A. Tomassetti, 25 vols (Turin, 1857–72), vol. 3, no. 5.

⁸² R. Rist, "Papal Policy and the Albigensian Crusades: Continuity or Change?", *Crusades* 2 (2003), pp. 107–8.

⁸³ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 452.

among heretics in southern France. Honorius appears to have shared many of Dominic's views and certainly favoured and endorsed his Order. James Powell has demonstrated how Honorius's programme of pastoral care and preaching fitted with that of Dominic and his Order: a comparative analysis of the sermons of Honorius and Innocent III on the *Pastor Bonus* for the second Sunday after Easter shows Honorius's emphasis on the pastoral work of preaching.⁸⁴ He clearly intended to continue the reform of preaching laid down in Canon 10 of the Fourth Lateran Council and even incorporated elements from this canon into his sermon.⁸⁵ But Powell's analysis of the sermon reveals the differing views of Honorius and Innocent III who had envisioned the reform of preaching to be orchestrated through the ecclesiastical hierarchy and had in Canon 10 established complete episcopal control over it, in line with his concern for strengthening the institutional structures of the Church. In contrast, Honorius appears to have believed that Innocent had tied the work of reform too closely to the existing church hierarchy and to have wished to further this work through other means, including the new mendicant orders.⁸⁶ Powell says of Honorius:

His was a more pastoral model of the Church than that of Innocent, more closely attuned to that "evangelical and apostolic doctrine" he shared with contemporary reformers. These differences were not, however, merely theoretical, but were carried over into the field of policy and resulted in the modification of the Innocentian reform program drafted at the Fourth Lateran Council.⁸⁷

According to Powell, Honorius's sermons also show that he was sympathetic to the ideal of apostolic poverty advocated by Dominic and other reformers.⁸⁸

There were thus parallels between the ideas of Honorius and those of Dominic, and Honorius appears to have regarded Dominic's Order as an important and useful tool for the implementation of his

⁸⁴ J. M. Powell, "Pastor Bonus: Some Evidence of Honorius III's Use of the Sermons of Pope Innocent III", *Speculum* LII (1977), pp. 529–33.

⁸⁵ Powell, "Pastor Bonus", pp. 530–1.

⁸⁶ J. M. Powell, "The Papacy and the Early Franciscans", *Franciscan Studies* 36 (1976), pp. 254–7. See also H. Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III [Europe in the Middle Ages. Selected Studies 12]*, trans. W. Sax (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980), pp. 190ff.

⁸⁷ Powell, "The Papacy and the Early Franciscans", p. 256.

⁸⁸ Powell, "Pastor Bonus", p. 535.

programme of pastoral reform. He certainly saw Dominic and his Order as an efficient, and by now experienced, weapon in the fight against the heretics in southern France where they were to continue working as preachers and missionaries. In January 1217, after requests from Dominic, he exhorted teachers and students from Paris to go to Toulouse to work.⁸⁹ A bull of recommendation of December 1219 emphasised the pope's view of the Order as being instrumental in the fight against heretics and 'other mortal contagions' threatening the Church.⁹⁰ That his support for Dominic and the reform of preaching converged in his thinking is seen by the fact that one of the recommendation bulls issued by him for the Dominican Order unmistakably alluded to Canon 10 from the Fourth Lateran Council.⁹¹ In 1220, Honorius sent a collection of his sermons to the Order's convent in Bologna, which again testifies to their common belief in the importance and efficacy of preaching and to Honorius's trust in the Order's ability to help him fulfil his homiletic programme.⁹² Having approved the Order and its programme in privileges and bulls of 1216, 1217 and 1219, Honorius continued to further Dominic's work and its expansion by issuing a series of bulls for the Order which displayed a growing papal support.⁹³ After Dominic's death on 6 August 1221, Honorius issued no more bulls of recommendation for the Order and the number of other papal letters to the Order also diminished considerably.⁹⁴ While this may partly be due to organizational difficulties in the Order after its leader's death and to the loss of personal contact with other leading members in the curia, it may also testify to the significance of the personal bond

⁸⁹ Letter of 19 January 1217: *Monumenta Diplomatica S. Dominici*, ed. V. J. Koudelka and R. J. Loenertz, [*Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica XXV*] (Rome, 1966), no. 78; J. M. Powell, "The Prefatory Letters to the Sermons of Pope Honorius III and the Reform of Preaching", *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia XXXIII* (1979), p. 96.

⁹⁰ M.-H. Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, transl. K. Pond (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964), pp. 286–7.

⁹¹ Letter of 11 November 1219: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 3, no. 42; Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, p. 424; Powell, "Pastor Bonus", p. 531.

⁹² Powell, "The Papacy and the Early Franciscans", p. 257; Powell, "Pastor Bonus", pp. 524–5; Powell, "The Prefatory Letters", pp. 96–7 and p. 100.

⁹³ Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, p. 280, pp. 288ff. and pp. 418–25.

⁹⁴ Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, pp. 418–9; P. Zutshi, "Letters from Pope Honorius III Concerning the Order of Preachers", in *Pope, Church and City. Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton*, ed. F. Andrews, C. Egger and C. M. Rousseau (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), p. 274.

between Honorius and Dominic. The existence of such a bond would support the idea that they exchanged views on various issues, including on the importance of preaching and mission, leaving it possible that Dominic was one of the main influences on Honorius in this respect.

Dominic and the mission in the Baltic region

Dominic was not only involved in preaching among Christians and heretics; he also took a keen interest in mission among pagans and envisaged his Order making an important contribution here. Evidence suggests that his interest stemmed from visits he had made to northern Europe several years previously. In the early years of the thirteenth century he may twice have visited Denmark with his bishop, Diego of Osma, in order to arrange a marriage for the son of King Alfonso VIII of Castile. Having completed this task, Diego and Dominic travelled to Rome where Diego appealed to the pope to be allowed to resign from his bishopric to dedicate his life to missionary work; this request was, however, refused.⁹⁵ These events are described by Jordan of Saxony in his book on the early years of the Dominican Order, the *Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum*, written in the beginning of the 1230s,⁹⁶ but Jordan does not inform us of the exact dates of the two journeys. However, Jarl Gallén has demonstrated,

⁹⁵ Jordan of Saxony, 'Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum', ed. H. C. Scheeben, in *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica XVI* (Rome, 1935), § 14 and §§ 16–17, pp. 33–5. The destination of Diego's and Dominic's journey has been much debated (see J. Gallén, *La province de Dacie de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs. I. Histoire générale jusqu'au Grand Schisme* [Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae, *Dissertationes Historicae* 12] (Helsinki: Söderström och Co., 1946), pp. 199ff.), but it has been convincingly argued by, among others, J. Gallén and M.-H. Vicaire that it was Denmark, and that the girl in question was the young daughter of the count of Orlamünde, a niece of King Valdemar of Denmark (Gallén, *La province de Dacie*, pp. 196–216; Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, pp. 47–56). This view now seems generally accepted: see W. A. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans. A Short History*, 2nd edition (Dublin: Dominican Publication, 1985), p. 6; J. M. Macías, *Santo Domingo de Guzmán. Fundador de la Orden de Predicadores* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1979), p. 100; *The History of the Albigensian Crusade. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's Historia Albigensis*, transl. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 16, note 2. Simon Tugwell ("Notes on the Life of St Dominic", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* LXVIII (1998), pp. 42–57) disagrees, but does not suggest an alternative.

⁹⁶ D. Berg, "Jordanus von Sachsen", in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. N. Angermann et al. (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1977–99), vol. 5, col. 629; Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, p. 382. See however Tugwell ("Notes on the Life of St Dominic", pp. 5–33) who suggests that part of the work was composed earlier, although it was only 'published' in the early 1230s.

based on a tentative reconstruction of Bishop Diego's itinerary, that the first journey must have taken place between mid-October 1203 and late February 1204, whilst the second visit must have been between late October 1205 and late April 1206.⁹⁷ Diego and Dominic would therefore have arrived in Denmark at a time when the Danish archbishop and king were deeply involved in planning their next expedition against the pagans.⁹⁸ In 1206 the Danes launched an expedition against the pagan Estonians on the island of Ösel, and in late 1205 Archbishop Anders of Lund had sent a letter to Pope Innocent III, as part of his preparations for this expedition, requesting permission to ordain a bishop amongst the pagans. The pope gave licence in January 1206.⁹⁹ It is likely that while in Denmark Diego and Dominic got a first-hand view of the preparations of the new Danish campaign against the pagans and were informed of the details of the plans to convert the pagans of the eastern Baltic region and to create an episcopal see amongst them.

Upon arrival at the papal curia, Jordan informs us, Diego applied to Pope Innocent for permission to give up his episcopate and embark on missionary work. It is uncertain amongst whom Diego intended to work. The first edition of Jordan's *Libellus* states that Diego was planning a mission to the Cumans.¹⁰⁰ Another version of the *Libellus* states that it was the Saracens, not the Cumans, who were to be the target of Diego's mission.¹⁰¹ The intended recipients of Diego's mission in 1206 may indeed have been Saracens, namely the Muslims in Spain. Diego's king, Alfonso VIII of Castile, had been deeply embroiled in the fight against his Muslim neighbours and in July 1195 had suffered a devastating defeat against the Almohad caliph

⁹⁷ J. Gallén, "Les voyages de S. Dominique au Danemark. Essai de datation", in *Xenia mediæ ævi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppleri* [*Storia e letteratura* 141–2], ed. R. Creyvens and P. Künzle, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 80–1. This does not leave much time, as Gallén acknowledges, for prolonged stays in either Denmark or Rome, but is feasible.

⁹⁸ Gallén, *La province de Dacie*, p. 211. Henry of Livonia (*Henrici Chronicon Livoniae* X:13, pp. 60–2) states that the Danish expedition of 1206 had been planned for three years.

⁹⁹ Letter of 13 January [1206]: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 109.

¹⁰⁰ "Revelavit quoque summo pontifici, sui cordis esse propositum conversioni Comanorum pro viribus operam adhibere, si cessionem eius dignaretur admittere": Jordan of Saxony, 'Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum', § 17, pp. 34–5.

¹⁰¹ Gallén, *La province de Dacie*, pp. 197–8. Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay (*Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. P. Guébin and E. Lyon, 3 vols (Paris, 1926–39), vol. 1, II:20, p. 21) also mentions Diego's missionary plans, but does not specify the intended target.

Ya'qub at Alarcos.¹⁰² One may, however, wonder why Diego would find it necessary to give up his bishopric in order to become involved in mission in Spain, as his position as bishop of Osma surely would have been made him well placed for such a task.

It also seems unlikely that around 1206 Diego would have chosen the Cumans as his target as there was very little contact between this people and western Europe at this time.¹⁰³ Jordan may have made proposed this because he, when compiling his work at the beginning of the 1230s, was aware of the interest Dominic later showed for mission amongst this pagan people at the north-east frontier of Hungary. Dominic's interest for the Cumans is also reported in two testimonies from the canonization process at Bologna in the early 1230s. Brother Rodolph stated that Dominic had expressed a wish to undertake mission especially amongst the Cumans, while Brother Paul of Venice stated that Dominic often had expressed a wish to convert the Cumans.¹⁰⁴ The Cumans may in fact only have come to Dominic's attention in the late 1210s, through Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia, the future Pope Gregory IX. A letter of January 1217 informs us that Pope Honorius intended to send Ugolino to King Andrew II of Hungary to discuss his involvement in the Fifth

¹⁰² Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 139–40.

¹⁰³ See N. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 68–73, for the history of the Cumans. V. J. Koudelka ("Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Saint Dominique II". *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* XLIII (1973), pp. 5–11) suggests that Diego met Cumans who had invaded Thuringia as auxiliaries in the army of the Bohemian king Ottokar I and ravaged the country around 1203, and he refers to an entry in Arnold of Lübeck's chronicle (*Chronica Slavorum*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, [*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recudi fecit*] (Hannover, 1868), VI:5, p. 224) which describes how Ottokar received assistance from the *Valwen* people, believed to be the Cumans. See also E. Winkelmann, *Philipp von Schwaben und Otto IV. von Braunschweig*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1873–8), vol. 1, p. 288. Thanks to Dr. Nora Berend, University of Cambridge, and Dr. Peter Jackson, University of Keele, for advice on this.

¹⁰⁴ "*Item dixit, quod desiderabat salutem omnium animarum tam christianorum quam etiam saracenorum, et specialiter Cumanorum, et aliorum, et magis erat zelator animarum, quam aliquis homo quem unquam viderit*": 'Acta Canonizationis Sancti Dominici', ed. A. Walz, in *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* XVI (Rome, 1935), § 32 (*Testimonium fratris Rodulphi*), pp. 149–50. "*Et sepe dixerat huic testi: Postquam ordinaverimus et instruxerimus ordinem nostrum ibimus ad Cumanos, et predicabimus eis fidem Christi, et acquiramus eos Domino*": 'Acta Canonizationis Sancti Dominici', § 43 (*Testimonium fratris Pauli Veneti*), p. 162. Both Rodolph and Paul entered the Order of the Dominicans in 1219 (B. Altaner, *Der heilige Dominikus. Untersuchungen und Texte [Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 2]* (Habelschwerdt: Frankes, 1922), p. 30 and p. 34).

Crusade.¹⁰⁵ He was also to undertake preaching for this crusade in Tuscany and Lombardy.¹⁰⁶ Heinrich Zimmermann suggests that Ugolino spent about two and a half years fulfilling these legatine obligations, from late January 1217 to the late summer of 1219.¹⁰⁷ In 1211 King Andrew had invited the Teutonic Order to defend his eastern frontier against the Cumans and had donated the region Burzenland (Barcaság) in Transylvania to the Order. Having established a firm hold on the land, the Order not only provided the required defence, but also started an offensive campaign, conquering parts of Cumania and undertaking the conversion of the Cumans.¹⁰⁸ Ugolino is likely to have heard of King Andrew's initiative and the Teutonic Order's activities in Burzenland. This may have inspired in him an admiration for this Order and its role in the fight against the pagans. After completing his legatine duties Ugolino may have met Dominic at the curia, as Dominic was in Rome in November and December 1219. So it may have been Ugolino's reports of the endeavours in Hungary which inspired Dominic to add the Cumans to his list of missionary targets.¹⁰⁹

It must have been recent ideas and impressions, gathered on his travels to the north, which in 1206 led Diego to make his request to the pope. No such intention can be discerned in him before these

¹⁰⁵ Letter of 30 January 1217: *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis*, ed. G. Fejér, 11 vols (Budapest, 1829–44), vol. 3, pp. 187–8. Tugwell (“Notes on the Life of St Dominic”, pp. 42–57) suggests that the Cumans were indeed the intended target of the mission of Diego and Dominic, partly because he does not see when else they could have been brought to Dominic's attention (p. 48 and p. 72).

¹⁰⁶ Letter of 23 January 1217: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1874–5), no. 5430.

¹⁰⁷ H. Zimmermann, *Die päpstliche Legation in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Vom Regierungsantritt Innocenz' III. bis zum Tode Gregors IX. (1198–1214)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1913), p. 73.

¹⁰⁸ Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, pp. 213–14. Two letters used to argue that a bishopric had been created for the Cumans already by 1217 (letter of 28 August 1217: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, no. 5598; letter of 7 July 1218: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, no. 5864) relate, in fact, to the see at Como in Italy (Koudelka, “Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Saint Dominique II”, p. 6), but a bishop was appointed for the Cumans before 1229 (letter of 13 September 1229: *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner, 2 vols (Rome, 1859–60), vol. 1, no. 161).

¹⁰⁹ In 1221 five Dominicans set out for Hungary, where the friars took up mission among the Cumans; a later account, written in 1259, states that this mission was undertaken on the express wishes of Dominic (Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, p. 216; B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts* [Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 3] (Habelschwerdt: Frankes, 1924), pp. 141ff.).

journeys.¹¹⁰ They had brought him into close contact with heresy in southern France and with the mission against the pagans in the Baltic. There is, however, no suggestion that it was among heretics that Diego planned to work. The sources agree that Diego planned a mission among infidels, not heretics. Furthermore, the plans refused by Pope Innocent cannot have included the heretics; after the papal dismissal of his plans, Diego started working in southern France, something he would not have done if it had been forbidden him by the pope. It is therefore likely that Diego had proposed to undertake missionary work amongst the pagans in the Baltic region. But no matter which pagan peoples Diego had hoped to work among, his application to the pope suggests that the visits of Diego and Dominic to Denmark around 1206 and their observation of the preparations for the new missionary campaign had left a lasting impression on the two, spurring them on to become involved in missionary work through preaching.

Such an interest in mission among the pagans in northern Europe may have been reawakened in Dominic around 1216–17. He was staying in Rome in December 1216 and January 1217 to obtain letters giving his Order papal approval and he is very likely to have met the envoys from the bishops and princes from the province of Gnesen who reported to the pope on the state of the mission in Prussia.¹¹¹ The previous year, during his visit to the curia at the time of the Fourth Lateran Council, he may also have heard more news of the mission in the eastern Baltic region and he may have met Archbishop Anders of Lund or perhaps Bishop Albert of Livonia.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ M.-H. Vicaire, “Charism and Hierarchy in the Foundation of the Order of Preachers”. *Vie Dominicaine* XXXI (1972). Reprinted (transl. J. Lewry) in his *The Genius of St Dominic. A Collection of Study-Essays*, ed. P. B. Lobo (Nagpur: Dominican Publications, 1991), p. 28. For Bishop Diego’s influence on Dominic’s ideas about mission, see H. Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages. The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women’s Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, 2nd edition, transl. S. Rowan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. 92–3.

¹¹¹ Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, pp. 225–6.

¹¹² Gallén, “Les voyages de S. Dominique au Danemark”, p. 78. Dominic had travelled to the Fourth Lateran Council in September 1215 (Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, p. 191). Archbishop Anders is likely to have attended the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215 and was certainly at the curia in the spring of 1216 (letter of 25 January 1217 (*DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 102) refers to Anders’ presence in May–June 1216; letters of [May–June 1216]: *DD*, vol. 1:5, nos 75–6). The curia is likely to have faced an unusual amount of business in the aftermath of the council, as the many visitors brought matters before the curia; this may have delayed expedition of cases and be part of the reason why Anders stayed so long in Rome.

It may have been such meetings which again fuelled his interest in mission in the Baltic lands. During his stay in Rome in December 1216 and January 1217, he met Cardinal Ugolino who had become his main contact at the curia when in the autumn of 1215 he had travelled there to obtain papal confirmation of his new Order and his request had been referred to Ugolino for examination.¹¹³ When Dominic returned to Rome in December 1216, he once again made use of his contacts with Ugolino.¹¹⁴ During this stay in 1216–17 he met a young cleric, William of Montferrat, at Ugolino's house. William was later to report, as part of the canonization process relating to Dominic, that Dominic had talked to him about his desire to work for the salvation of others and his longing to take part in the mission amongst the pagans. Their discussions led to the decision that William was to go to Paris to study theology for two years, after which they would go together to convert the pagans in Prussia and in the other regions of the north.¹¹⁵ Nothing came of these plans, but William's testimony suggests that Dominic was at this point very interested in participating in missionary work in north-east Europe.

Dominic may thus have harboured a wish to take up mission amongst the pagans of northern Europe as early as 1206, perhaps inspired by the Danish Archbishop Anders, and in the early months of 1217 this interest appears to have been reawakened. Is it possible that Honorius and Dominic, perhaps with Cardinal Ugolino as intermediary, discussed the state of the missions in the Baltic at this time, and that this resulted in a heightened interest in both of them for the new

¹¹³ Jordan of Saxony, 'Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum', § 40, p. 45; Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, pp. 192–5; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 23.

¹¹⁴ As cardinal, Ugolino was amongst the witnesses to the consistorial privilege given to Dominic on 22 December 1216 which gave the Order the confirmation Dominic had sought; a second letter, giving the Order its name, was issued on 21 January 1217 (Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, pp. 219–23). Due to these close bonds between Dominic and Ugolino, Christoph Maier (*Preaching the crusades*, p. 23) suggests that Ugolino's 'influence on the nature of the new order's constitution was probably not inconsiderable'.

¹¹⁵ "... irent ad convertendos paganos qui morantur in [Pcia et aliis] partibus septentrionis": 'Acta Canonizationis Sancti Dominici', § 12 (*Testimonium fratris Guilielmi de Monte fer-rato*), pp. 133–4. For a discussion of the insertion of the words "Pcia et aliis" and their interpretation, see Gallén, *La province de Dacie*, pp. 201ff.; G. von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland in Mittelalter. Die Natio Livoniae [Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae, Dissertationes Historicae 9]* (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1938), p. 5; Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 3–4. The undisputed use of the adjective *septentrionis*, however, leaves no doubt that the mission planned by Dominic was to be somewhere in northern Europe.

plantations of the faith? Their mutual trust and shared beliefs may have involved an exchange of ideas on the issue of mission and it may have been through such conversations that they both came to view the mission in the Baltic as being a matter of great importance. This could have led Honorius to grant crusaders defending this mission a higher indulgence, to be enjoyed by a wider circle of men.

Honorius III and mission among non-Christians

During Honorius's pontificate there was a circle of men who occasionally met at the curia and who took a keen interest in the reform of preaching and mission. Among these were the pope himself, Cardinal Ugolino, Francis and Dominic. This group and their interest in mission were to have far-reaching consequences beyond the pontificate of Honorius for mission not only in the Baltic region, but also elsewhere at the periphery of western Christendom. At the curia Dominic may not only have taken part in such debates and have inspired and influenced others, he may also have received information which made him aware of new missionary fields for his Order.

Honorius certainly took a strong interest in mission. This is evidenced by the major missionary campaign he was planning in the early months of 1221 when he sent the letter *Ne si secus* to more than forty archbishops. Honorius ordered them to select from their province "four men of sincere faith and well-tested learning, or three or at least two from any religious house or order and in particular from the Cistercian Order". These men were then to be sent to the curia from where they would be dispatched to work in "the wilderness among the various peoples". The letter did not specify the missionaries' destination in any detail, but the wording of the letter shows that the pope intended the missionaries to work for the conversion of non-Christians. The letter made a distinction between "the Lord's vineyard", the Church and the Christian community, characterized by lushness and fertility, and the "*solitudo*", the places outside the Church, considered arid and infertile. The missionaries were to work among the people living outside the Church, neighbouring the Lord's vineyard, "*circumadiacentibus nationibus*".¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Letter of [February x March 1221]: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 192; Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, p. 1.

Honorius wanted to recruit missionaries from all over Latin Christendom. The letter was sent to church provinces in Scandinavia, Germany, Poland, Hungary, the western Balkans, Italy, France, and the Iberian Peninsula¹¹⁷ rather than merely to the core lands of western Europe. The choice of recipients appears to have been partly guided by which church provinces had business at the curia at the time,¹¹⁸ but there was clearly some selection, as not all provinces with business at the curia received the exhortation to send missionaries. This suggests that Honorius wanted missionaries with different linguistic skills and with different knowledge of geography and local custom.

The missionary campaign planned by Honorius was on a grand scale. Given that the letter was sent to more than forty provinces across Europe and that the pope asked each province to send between two and four men, he must have envisioned a missionary task force numbering a good hundred men. It comes as no surprise that he particularly requested volunteers from the Cistercian Order. As already seen, Cistercians had served as agents for the papacy in a variety of settings and had played a prominent role in several external missionary undertakings, including those in the Baltic region.¹¹⁹ Honorius's wish to recruit Cistercians for his missionary project may also have guided his choice of images for the letter. No doubt aware that the motif was significant to the Order—and following Innocent III's example¹²⁰—he employed the traditional image of Rachel and Leah to signify the two different possible routes taken in religious life:

¹¹⁷ See the list of recipients in *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 3209 (letter there dated to 25 March 1221; see *DD*, vol. 1:5, pp. 242–3 for a discussion of the date).

¹¹⁸ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, pp. 564–75.

¹¹⁹ Both Bishop Albert of Riga and the Danish king employed Cistercians in their missionary fields in Livonia and Estonia (two letters of 19 March 1220: *DD*, vol. 1:5, nos 166–7; letter of 18 April 1220: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 51; letter of 18 April 1220: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 2399).

¹²⁰ Innocent III often used this image in letters to the Cistercians: see G. Constable, *Three studies in medieval religious and social thought. The interpretation of Mary and Martha—The ideal of the imitation of Christ—The orders of society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 99ff.; B. M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229. Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 135–8 and pp. 145–6; B. Bolton, “For the See of Simon Peter: The Cistercians at Innocent III's Nearest Frontier”, in *Monastic Studies I*, ed. J. Loades (Bangor: Headstart History, 1990). Reprinted in her *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), p. 3 and p. 18; see also letter of 12 July [1199]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 2, no. 113; letter of 26 January [1205]: *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, no. 21. See also Chapter One, p. 41 above.

introvert contemplation, represented by the barren Rachel, and extrovert action in the form of preaching and mission, represented by Leah.¹²¹ He now called on the archbishops to awaken their men from “the embrace of Rachel” to join Leah.

In his letter Honorius made it quite clear that the missionaries were to convert the non-Christians by the peaceful methods of preaching. This may be yet another reason why Honorius was hoping to recruit Cistercians for this missionary campaign. As mentioned earlier, the popes held the Cistercians’ ability to preach in high esteem and Pope Innocent had often mentioned it in his appeals to the Order.

Honorius also made it clear that the volunteers had to be ready to suffer martyrdom. Death was not only a likely outcome for missionaries working among Muslims—as recently demonstrated in the case of five Franciscans martyred in Morocco in 1220¹²²—but also for missionaries working elsewhere as evidenced by the fates of St Boniface, the earliest Livonian bishops and numerous others. But Honorius did not hold up this outcome as a warning. Rather, he presented it as almost desirable.¹²³ The missionaries would, he wrote, be rewarded by God, because they would “receive from [God] a place in the senate of life, laurelled by their own blood”.¹²⁴ This image of “a place in the senate of life” may have been inspired by the sequence *Decora Lux*, sung on 29 June, the feast day of Saints Peter and Paul.¹²⁵ Describing the two saints, the second stanza of the hymn reads:

¹²¹ Honorius also used it in his letters concerning the Dominican order, for instance in December 1220 (letter of 30 December 1220: *Monumenta Historica Sancti Patris Nostri Dominici. Historia Diplomatica S. Dominici*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, [*Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica XV*] (Paris, 1933), no. 122; P. Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique. L'idée, l'homme et l'œuvre. Augmenté de notes et d'études par M. H. Vicaire et R. Ladner*, 2 vols (Paris: Brouwer et Cie, 1938), vol. 1, p. 232). The Dominicans seem to have regarded this image with fondness; it was used by Jordan of Saxony ('*Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum*', § 14, p. 33) to describe the awakening of Dominic's interest in mission, and by Stephen of Salanhac in his *Tractatus brevis de quatuor, in quibus Deis predicatorum ordinem insigniuit* (Altaner, *Der heilige Dominikus*, p. 162 and p. 242). It was also used later by the Dominicans, for instance by Johannes Teutonicus in a letter of 1246 (*Litterae Encyclicae Magistrorum Generalium*, ed. B. M. Reichert, [*Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica V*] (Rome, 1900), no. 1).

¹²² See p. 168, note 141 below.

¹²³ Letter of [February x March 1221]: *DD*, vol 1:5, no. 192.

¹²⁴ Letter of [February x March 1221]: *DD*, vol 1:5, no. 192.

¹²⁵ J. Szövérfy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*, 2 vols (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1964–5), vol. 1, pp. 122–4. The hymn was based on a Carolingian poem (op.cit). For the papal role in this feast, see P. Journel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle* [*Collection de l'École française de*

Earth's teacher and Heaven's doorkeeper,
 founders of Rome and judges of the world,
 they take their place, laurel-crowned, in heaven's assembly [*vitae senatum*]—
 the one triumphant through being beheaded, the other through being
 crucified.¹²⁶

The image chosen to describe the heavenly reward awaiting the missionaries was thus taken from a context dealing with martyrdom, namely that of Peter and Paul. This praise of martyrdom and the idea of using it as a recruiting device were not copied from Honorius's immediate predecessors. On the few occasions when Innocent III mentioned this concept in his letters, it was presented quite differently. In a letter of October 1209 to the Danish archbishop of Lund concerning the new missionary bishop of Finland, Innocent had subscribed to the opinion that only few men could be persuaded to take up such a position, because it incurred the risk of martyrdom:

Because the faith has only recently been planted there and because of the stubbornness of the people and the inclemency of the place, he who is elected to this office will be seen not as receiving an honour but as facing martyrdom; thus hardly anybody is seeking the office . . .¹²⁷

Innocent thus contrasted martyrdom and honour, assuming that most men would prefer the latter, which suggests that he did not regard the prospect of martyrdom as a fruitful recruiting device.

With *Né si secus* Honorius showed that he now was ready to change the papal policy on mission towards a much more involved role for the papacy. The new missionary campaign was initiated by the curia, and the curia was to organize it, choose the missionary targets and distribute the missionaries among them. Several ideas are likely to have influenced Honorius's ideas about mission among non-Christians and to have played a part in this change of papal policy. Are we perhaps to see the ideas of Francis of Assisi behind Honorius's praise of martyrdom? The depiction of martyrdom as a desirable outcome for the missionaries—to the extent where it was presented as an

Rome 26] (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), especially pp. 400–3; see also *Romanus ordo de consuetudinibus et observantiis*, in *Le Liber censuum de l'Église romaine*, ed. P. Fabre and L. Duchesne, 3 vols (Paris, 1889–1952), vol. I, pp. 310–11, written by Cencius (Honorius III).

¹²⁶ J. Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957), p. 168, from where the translation is taken.

¹²⁷ Letter of 30 October 1209: *DD*, vol. 1:4, no. 161.

incentive for potential volunteers—resemble Francis’ ideas, writings and actions.¹²⁸ Such wish for martyrdom was by no means common for all contemporary advocates of external missionary work.¹²⁹

Other elements in Honorius’s letter may have been inspired by Dominic and the missionary strategies used by his Order. Dominic seems to have favoured a strategy where friars were sent to those lands they already had interest in, had local knowledge or spoke the language. As soon as he had recruited friars with such talents he dispatched them to the relevant region, as in the cases of Hungary, Sweden and Denmark.¹³⁰ By requesting a small number of men from lands all over Latin Christendom Honorius may have tried a similar strategy, hoping to recruit locals who more easily could interact with the local pagans. Of interest is Honorius’s request that the men sent by the archbishops were to be of well-tested learning. None of Honorius’s immediate predecessors appears to have listed this quality as a requirement for missionaries in their letters of support for ongoing missionary projects. The specification was, presumably, included to ensure that the men would be eloquent and informed preachers. This has resonance in the Dominicans’ emphasis on the importance of learning and the study of theology and languages.¹³¹

Honorius had strong links not only to the Dominicans, but also to the Franciscans. Innocent III had given Francis’s Order and its rule an oral, conditional and temporary approval, but had not made a formal confirmation.¹³² Honorius, along with Cardinal Ugolino, had supported Francis and his Order in face of resistance within the curia from cardinals wishing to adhere to Canon 13 from the Fourth Lateran Council which prohibited the foundation of new religious orders in order to avoid religious experimentation which could endanger the stability of the Church or challenge the papal control over

¹²⁸ See for instance *Regula non bullata*, chapter 16: *Die Regula non bullata der Minderbrüder*, ed. D. E. Flood [*Franziskanische Forschungen* 19] (Werl, 1967), pp. 64–5, and *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi*, ed. H. Boehmer, 2nd edition, rev. F. Wiegand, [*Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften*, Neue Folge 4] (Tübingen, 1930), pp. 10–11; B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 124–6.

¹²⁹ See for instance Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 124.

¹³⁰ Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, p. 299.

¹³¹ See for instance J.-P. Renard, *La formation et la designation des predicateurs au debut de l’Ordre des Precheurs (1215–1237)* (Fribourg: Imprimerie St-Canisius, 1977), pp. 113–20, especially pp. 113–15.

¹³² Powell, “The Papacy and the Early Franciscans”, p. 257.

religious institutions, and he eventually formally approved the Order and its rule.¹³³ The ideas of Dominic and Francis on mission could have been transmitted to the pope through Cardinal Ugolino, the prominent supporter of both Dominic and Francis. Ugolino was at the curia in the early months of 1221, preparing for a legation to northern Italy¹³⁴ and presumably meeting frequently with Honorius to discuss it. Honorius could also have become familiar with the ideas through meetings with Dominic and Francis themselves. Dominic himself was at the curia when *Ne si secus* was issued,¹³⁵ and Francis had visited Rome in the previous autumn.¹³⁶

Dominic and Francis were not the only men to advocate internal and external mission. These matters also occupied James of Vitry for whom an involvement in the evangelization of his fellow Christians had led to missionary work among the Muslims.¹³⁷ In his letters written from the Holy Land and from the crusading camp at Damietta he informed the recipients that the time was right for the conversion of Muslims, a view he also presented to Pope Honorius.¹³⁸

In the early months of 1221, Honorius must have felt that the time was ripe for test his new policy on mission. The planned campaign would not have deprived Honorius's main project, the Fifth Crusade, of resources as the men employed were not potential crusaders and their expenses would have been limited. Anyhow, the state of affairs in the East did not call for immediate action. In the winter and spring of 1220–1221 the situation in Egypt was

¹³³ Powell, "The Papacy and the Early Franciscans", pp. 255–9; K.-V. Selge, "Franz von Assisi und die römische Kurie", *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 67:2 (1970), p. 136; Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, pp. 214–15; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 448–9.

¹³⁴ *Registri dei Cardinali Ugolino d'Ostia e Ottaviano degli Ubaldini*, ed. G. Levi (Rome, 1890), no. CXI, pp. 138ff.; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 183.

¹³⁵ Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, pp. 289, 337 (with note 4), 339, 347, and 420.

¹³⁶ Selge, "Franz von Assisi und die römische Kurie", p. 155.

¹³⁷ Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, p. 118 and pp. 116–31; J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants. The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 38–9.

¹³⁸ *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170–1240), évêque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), nos II and VII; R. I. Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the crusader kingdom of Valencia. Societies in symbiosis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 84. James had not, however, informed the pope of Francis's attempt to preach to Sultan al-Kamil in 1219 (Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, p. 123).

characterized by cautious waiting while attempts were made to build up the crusader army.¹³⁹

Honorius had ordered the archbishops to see that the men arrived at the curia by early November 1221. We do not know what response the papal letter triggered. We do not know how many men were sent to Rome to partake in the missionary campaign or what steps were taken to implement the next stage of the scheme. Honorius's interest in mission had led him to make grand plans for an ambitious missionary project, initiated and orchestrated by the papacy, but the plans do not appear to have resulted in the large-scale campaign that he had hoped for.

Honorius III and the mendicant orders: the mission in northern Africa in 1225

Honorius went on to develop a new strategy for the papal involvement in mission. Sometime before June 1225 two Dominican friars, Dominic of Segovia and Martin,¹⁴⁰ approached the pope for approval of a mission to Morocco.¹⁴¹ With the bull *Vineae Domini custodes* of June 1225 Honorius granted them his permission and sent them to Morocco to evangelize, convert infidels, encourage those of lapsed faith, sustain those weak in faith and console the timid. In order to do so, he gave them licence to preach, baptise Muslims, impose penance and absolve excommunicates.¹⁴² The friars were thus to

¹³⁹ Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 183–4.

¹⁴⁰ K.-E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels* [Studi e Testi 291] (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981), p. 21; Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, pp. 342 and 363.

¹⁴¹ Lupprian (*Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern*, p. 21) states that the Order had decided to send friars there already at its second general chapter in 1221. This could have been inspired by the five Franciscans martyred in Morocco who had been dispatched by their general chapter in 1219, arrested in Seville, sent to Morocco for judgement and subsequently executed in 1220 (J. D. Ryan, “To Baptize Khans or to Convert Peoples? Missionary Aims in Central Asia in the Fourteenth Century”, in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals* [International Medieval Research 7], ed. G. Armstrong and I. N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 248–9; E. R. Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1975), p. 42).

¹⁴² “. . . ut evangelizantes ibi Dominum Iesum Christum, quantum ipse dedit, convertatis incredulos, erigatis lapsos, sustentetis debiles, pusillamines consolemini et fortes nichilominus confortetis”. . . “. . . vobis licet predicare, baptizare saracenos ad fidem noviter venientes; reconciliare apostatas, iniungere penitentias et excommunicatos illos absolvere . . .”: letter of 10 June 1225: *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)*, ed. D. Mansilla [Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana. Sección: Registros II] (Rome, 1965), no. 562.

combine the task of pastoral care among the Christians in the region¹⁴³ with that of mission. This was in complete accord with the programme of the Dominican Order and Honorius's support for the friars' proposal confirms that he shared the Order's ideas of evangelizing and mission. Unlike Pope Celestine III who in 1192 had dispatched a priest to work in Morocco, but had limited the priest's duties to pastoral care among the Christians there,¹⁴⁴ Honorius now used the opportunity to ensure that an effort was made to expand the Christian faith.

In the autumn of 1225 Honorius returned to the matter of the Dominican mission in Morocco, in all likelihood because he had received encouraging reports from the two friars there.¹⁴⁵ In October he exhorted friars from both the Dominican and the Franciscan Orders to join the Moroccan mission. This letter, also called *Vineae Domini custodes*, was a practically verbatim copy of the letter of June 1225, listing exactly the same tasks for the friars and giving them the same licences.¹⁴⁶ He also ordered Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo to dispatch Dominican and Franciscan friars so that they could convert the infidels with preaching and examples; he furthermore ordered the archbishop to consecrate one of the friars as bishop of Morocco.¹⁴⁷ Finally, he issued a letter to Dominic—the same Dominic who had been the recipient of the letter of June 1225, but now was addressed as bishop of Morocco—and encouraged him to proceed zealously in his mission.¹⁴⁸

Honorius thus took charge of the mission originally initiated by the Dominican friars. It must have been his idea to unite the forces of the two new mendicant orders. The two orders had not previously ventured into cooperation, and Honorius's letters did not mention

¹⁴³ For the Christian population in Morocco, see Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern*, pp. 19–21; J. F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 117; see also letter of 5 September 1219: *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, no. 243.

¹⁴⁴ See Chapter One, p. 75 above.

¹⁴⁵ Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 98–9.

¹⁴⁶ Letter of 7 October 1225: *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, no. 579.

¹⁴⁷ This letter is now lost, but its existence is clear from a letter of 20 February 1226: *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, no. 595. For Honorius's often troubled relations with Archbishop Rodrigo, see P. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* [*Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* third series 4] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 4–19.

¹⁴⁸ Letter of 27 October 1225: *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, no. 588; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, p. 118.

that any such suggestion had been received from them. He also moved quickly to ensure that the Moroccan mission became firmly tied to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Not only did he order that one of the missionaries should be consecrated as bishop of Morocco, he also made sure that the missionary undertaking became institutionally embedded in the archbishopric of Toledo. This did not, however, mean that the responsibility for the Moroccan mission was to be delegated to the archbishop of Toledo: the reports from the missionaries continued to be sent to the pope.¹⁴⁹ Honorius wanted to remain in charge of the project, with the archbishop merely implementing the papal decisions.

Honorius continued to follow the Moroccan mission, reacting swiftly to the reports and requests from its missionaries. In February 1226, after further reports from the region, he commissioned the archbishop of Toledo to send more Dominicans and Franciscans to support the mission and to consecrate another one or two bishops if he saw it fit.¹⁵⁰ The pope thus continued his involvement in the mendicants' missionary undertaking in northern Africa.

Honorius's concern for the ecclesiastical organization in northern Africa was of course in line with traditional papal policy on missionary fields. But his assumption of the leadership of what was originally a Dominican mission to Morocco was unusual. The new mendicant orders are, however, likely to have welcomed the pope's involvement, as an alliance with the papacy held certain advantages in form of papal favour and support for other activities. By the middle of the 1220s Honorius's policies show how this pope shared the ideas of the mendicant orders on evangelizing and mission and how he had come to envisage these orders as playing a central role in this work.

Honorius III, William of Modena and the mission in the Baltic region

The ties between the Baltic mission and the curia were strengthened during Honorius's pontificate through the legatine mission of Bishop William of Modena.

¹⁴⁹ As evidenced by the letters of 20 February 1226 and 17 March 1226: *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, nos 595 and 596.

¹⁵⁰ Letter of 20 February 1226: *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, no. 595.

Honorius appointed William as legate to the Baltic region in December 1224 after having received a request for a legate from Bishop Albert of Riga.¹⁵¹ Albert may have asked for a legate not only to settle his many disputes with the Sword-Brothers, but also to achieve his long-held wish, the elevation of his see to metropolitan status.¹⁵² The request for a legate was most likely part of a two-stage strategy by Albert: to get a papal legate to the region, on the pretext of aiding the mission and the new ecclesiastical organization, and then, once the legate had arrived, to persuade the pope to allow the legate, after careful examination of the state of affairs in the region, to elevate his bishopric into an archbishopric. If so, Albert's strategy was only partly successful. In November 1225 Honorius allowed William to create a metropolitan see, if he saw it fit, but William chose not to use this mandate.¹⁵³

The appointment of William would allow the curia to acquire information about the region, but exactly what role did the curia intend for him? Only three letters granting powers to him have survived, but the scarcity of information in these letters and the absence of letters to William himself indicate that others, now lost, must have been sent.¹⁵⁴ In the earliest surviving letter, *Cum is qui* of 31 December 1224, William's legatine field was defined as Livonia, Prussia, Holstein, Estonia, Semgallia, Sambia, Kurland, and Vironia, as well as the

¹⁵¹ Henry states that the bishop sent his priest, Maurice, to the curia to ask for such a mission (*Henrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIX:2, p. 316). There is no reason not to believe Henry here. It is assumed that he wrote his chronicle as a report for William of Modena on the history and state of the Livonian mission (see p. 14 above), making it likely that he would have been accurate in his description of how the legatine mission came about. William and his legatine mission in the Baltic region are discussed in, among others, G. A. Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina. Bischof von Modena 1222–1234. Päpstlicher Legat in den Nordischen Ländern (d. 1251)* [*Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum* II.5] (Helsinki: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1929); G. Gnegel-Waitschies, *Bischof Albert von Riga. Ein Bremer Domherr als Kirchenfürst im Osten (1199–1229)* (Hamburg: August Friedrich Velmede Verlag, 1958); F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1965); and Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*.

¹⁵² Albert had already applied for this twice, in November 1219 and December 1223, but had been unsuccessful: see pp. 181–2 below. See also Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, p. 141.

¹⁵³ This letter was in response to a letter from the bishop of Riga: letter of 19 November 1225: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 2, no. 5721, full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 13, fol. 100, epist. 125.

¹⁵⁴ Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, p. 131.

islands of Öland, Bornholm, Rügen and Gotland; the field thus covered not only William's destination, the missionary territories in the eastern part of the Baltic region, but also the Baltic lands through which William would be travelling *en route*.¹⁵⁵ This letter does not give any details of the tasks which William was to fulfil; it simply mentions that he was "*ad euangelizandum in partibus illis*". A few days later William received a letter conferring on him the authority to erect churches and to appoint and consecrate two or three bishops in the region.¹⁵⁶ Ernst Pitz has argued that the main purpose of William's legation was mission and preaching, not administrative duties.¹⁵⁷ This does indeed appear to be the case. If one juxtaposes the letters issued to William with those issued to other legates, the difference becomes clear. A comparison between the letter of 31 December 1224 introducing William to the clerics of his legatine field with a letter of 19 January 1217 introducing Bertrand of SS Giovanni e Paolo to his legatine field of Provence clearly shows the difference.¹⁵⁸ Bertrand's task was to oversee the campaign against the heretics. In the letter to Provence the theme of the fight against the heretics is carried through the *arenga*, while in the letter concerning William the theme of the *arenga* is preaching of the gospel. The role allocated to William by the curia was that of preacher and supervisor of mission.¹⁵⁹

Honorius's choice of legate was not random. William had volunteered for the job. This is evident from *Cum is qui* in which Honorius—unusually—stated that William had offered to go to the Baltic region.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Letter of 31 December 1224: *DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 29; Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, p. 131. For a discussion of the placenames, see Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 415ff.

¹⁵⁶ Letter of 9 January 1225: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 72. On 3 January 1225, the pope issued a letter taking all the converts in Livonia and Prussia under papal protection: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 71; see p. 178 below.

¹⁵⁷ Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 136–42.

¹⁵⁸ Letter of 19 January 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 153; W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216. Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), pp. 170–1.

¹⁵⁹ Nor was William's legation part of a plan to create a papal state in the eastern Baltic region, as some have proposed. See I. Fønnesberg Schmidt, "The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147–1254" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2003), pp. 154–85, for a discussion of this idea.

¹⁶⁰ "*Ecce ad euangelizandum in partibus illis dominum Ihesum Christum eligimus uenerabilem fratrem nostrum Guillelmum Mutinensem episcopum uel potius nobis quasi dicentibus quem mittemus.*"

William's interest is also reported by the pope in another letter issued a few days later in which, when appointing the bishop of Rimini as William's successor as judge in the trials against heretics in Lombardy, he commented that William had long wished to undertake mission among the Prussians.¹⁶¹ It is noteworthy that this letter not only declares that William had long had this wish, but also specifies Prussia as William's interest. This suggests that his interest was unrelated to the petition of 1224 from Bishop Albert of Livonia. I have already suggested that during Honorius's pontificate there was a group of men, including Honorius, Cardinal Ugolino, Francis and Dominic, who met at the curia and who took a keen interest in mission among non-Christians in the Baltic region and elsewhere. It appears that William too was influenced by these ideas. This probably stemmed from his days as an employee at the curia. He had worked in the papal chancery for several years and—from sometime between 13 December 1219 and 24 February 1220 to April or early May 1222—he had been vice-chancellor. As vice-chancellor he would have been head of the chancery, since Honorius did not appoint any chancellors, and he would have presided over the public sittings of the chancery where its main business was read.¹⁶² During this period several petitions from Prussia were received and processed, and William would thus have had intimate knowledge of the letters issued by Honorius concerning the activities in the Baltic, certainly during the period in which he headed the chancery, and perhaps also from the time when he acted as notary. Envoys from Prussia visited the curia from early

et quis ibit nobis idem cum Ysaia obtulit se mittendum . . .: letter of 31 December 1224: *DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 29.

¹⁶¹ “. . . demum ipsum Mutinensem desiderantem ob olim portare nomen domini Iesu Christi coram ducibus et gentibus Prutenorum et nuper a fidelibus, qui sunt in partibus illis, instantissime postulatum illuc de fratrum nostrorum consilio duximus destinandum”: letter of 9 January 1225: *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1, no. 264; Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, p. 132.

¹⁶² Sayers, *Papal Government and England*, pp. 25–9; Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 10–14. See also P. Zutshi, “The Personal Role of the Pope in the Production of Papal Letters in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries”, in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens. Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter* [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 306], ed. W. Pohl and P. Herold (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), pp. 231–2, and P. Zutshi, “Pope Honorius III's *Gratiarum Omnium* and the Beginnings of the Dominican Order”, in *Omnia disce—Medieval Studies in Memory of Leonard Boyle, O.P.*, ed. A. J. Duggan, J. Greatrex and B. Bolton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 207–8.

1217 onwards, and William may also have encountered Bishop Albert who in 1220 had travelled to Rome to seek support for his mission.¹⁶³

William's early interest in mission may have been furthered by meetings with Dominic who certainly was to become a major influence on him later. The two may have met during Dominic's visit to the curia in 1217 and again from November 1219 when Dominic once again travelled to the curia, where he stayed until May 1220.¹⁶⁴ During the latter period, which coincided with a time of great expansion of Dominic's Order, Dominic obtained many letters from the chancery and may well have met William, now vice-chancellor, on several occasions. William's interest in and devotion to Dominic and the Dominicans is reported by two Dominican friars, Gerard of Fracheto and Bartholomæus of Trient. Gerard referred to William as "*amicissimus ordinis et beati Dominici*", while Bartholomæus described his interest in Dominic and the Order, stating that William "*mores s. Domini sedule explorans*".¹⁶⁵ William maintained strong personal ties with the Dominicans: during his travels in Prussia in 1235 two Dominican friars were among his companions and in the middle of the 1240s his chaplain was a Dominican.¹⁶⁶ He was present at the translation of Dominic's body in Bologna in May 1233 and is reported to have worked for the canonization of Dominic. He was buried in the Dominican convent at Lyons.¹⁶⁷ Dominic may not only have given William a keen interest in the mission amongst the pagans in the Baltic region, but may also have influenced his ideas about how such a mission was to be conducted. Dominic's emphasis on preaching and evangelization necessitated that his friars found ways of mastering

¹⁶³ See Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIV:2, p. 256; Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 128–9.

¹⁶⁴ Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, pp. 278–9, p. 281, and p. 299.

¹⁶⁵ Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 15–16. For William's membership of the Carthusian Order, see B. Tromby, *Storia critico-cronologica diplomatica del patriarca S. Brunone e del suo ordine Cartusiano*, 10 vols (Napoli: Orsino, 1773–1779; reprinted in *Analecta Cartusiani* 84 (multiple parts). Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1982), vol. 5, Liber V (vol. 84:9, pp. 128–9 in reprint). See also Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, p. 9, and A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e 'familliae' cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254* [*Italia sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica* 18–19], 2 vols (Padova: Antenore, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 187–8.

¹⁶⁶ Letter of 19 October 1235: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 119; letter of 1 February 1245: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. É. Berger [*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Ser. 2], 3 vols (Paris, 1884–1921), no. 1032; Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, p. 162, note 7.

¹⁶⁷ Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, p. 64 and pp. 407–8.

the language of the people to whom they preached,¹⁶⁸ and William followed a similar approach. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines reported that while in Prussia, William translated a grammar into the local language.¹⁶⁹

It may simply have been a coincidence that Bishop Albert's request for a legate could be fulfilled with the dispatch of one already interested in the region, but Ernst Pitz has proposed another scenario. He suggests that in January 1224 William met envoys from Albert at the curia and discussed his interest in the Baltic mission. On their return to Riga, the envoys informed Albert of their new contact which prompted him to send his priest, Maurice, to the pope to apply for a legate.¹⁷⁰ So, even though the request which sparked the legatine mission came from Albert, William appears to have influenced its final form. The fact that when appointed as legate, William's field covered Livonia, Prussia, Estonia, Semgallia, Sambia, Kurland, and Vironia, even though Albert can only have requested a legate for the lands in his own sphere of work, suggests that William had persuaded the pope to add other missionary lands to those of Livonia in order to fulfil his long-held dream to visit Prussia.¹⁷¹

William undertook three legatine missions to the region: to Livonia and Estonia in 1225–6, to Prussia 1228–30, and to the wider Baltic region in 1234–42.¹⁷² Once in the region, his actions reflect the ideas he had met while at the curia. He worked for the conversion of the pagans through peaceful means, preaching and the conclusion of treaties. Central to his work was enabling the newly converted to

¹⁶⁸ J. Richard, "L'enseignement des langues orientales en Occident au Moyen-Age". *Revue des études islamiques* XLIV (1976). Reprinted in his *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs. Les perspectives orientales du monde latin médiéval* (London: Variorum, 1983), p. 155. For a discussion of strategies to overcome language differences employed by missions in the early middle ages, see A. M. Luiselli Fadda, "The Vernacular and the Propagation of the Faith in Anglo-Saxon Missionary Activity", in *Missions and Missionaries* [*Studies in Church History* 13], ed. P. N. Holtrop and H. McLeod (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 1–16.

¹⁶⁹ "Insuper principium artis grammaticae, videlicet Donatum, in illorum barbaram linguam cum maximo labore transtulit": Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica', ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores XXIII* (Hannover, 1874), *sub anno* 1228, p. 921; Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, p. 150.

¹⁷⁰ Pitz (*Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, p. 131) mentions the possibility that William may have met Maurice at Modena and have travelled with him to Rome to lay the plan before the pope; see also *Henrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIX:2, p. 316.

¹⁷¹ See also Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 131–2, and Tugwell, "Notes on the Life of St Dominic", pp. 64–6.

¹⁷² Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, *passim*.

take up their new faith after careful instruction by the clergy, and while in Livonia and Estonia in 1225–6 he himself undertook two tours, preaching to the newly converted and sending out priests among them.¹⁷³ His emphasis on preaching and care for proper instruction of the converts resembles that of Dominic. However, his call for a campaign against the Osilians in 1226 as well as his role in the organization of a crusade in the spring of 1236 and his support to the Teutonic Order,¹⁷⁴ which will be discussed below, show that he accepted the need to use force against pagans, presumably regarding this as necessary to defend and protect converts and missionaries. During his first legatine mission, he also took on the role of papal arbitrator, issuing letters settling various disputes between the bishops, the Sword-Brothers, and the citizens of Riga.¹⁷⁵ Through this he was responding to local demands, but the primary role given to him by the curia for that legatine mission was that of preacher and supervisor of the mission.

With the dispatch of William to the Baltic region, Honorius seized the opportunity to forge closer ties with the missionary projects in that region, to receive better information about its progress and to influence it. The request for a legate had come from Bishop Albert of Livonia, but the curia decided to extend the legatine field to include Prussia and other areas in which it had knowledge of missionary activity. This testifies to the curial wish to become more closely involved in the mission among the pagans of the eastern Baltic region.

¹⁷³ See Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIX:3, pp. 316–20, and XXIX:7, p. 324.

¹⁷⁴ For the campaign of 1226, see Henry of Livonia (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXX:1, p. 328) who explains that it was in retaliation for Osilian attacks on Sweden; for the crusade of 1236, see Chapter Four, pp. 206ff.; for William's support for the Teutonic Order, see Chapter Four, pp. 201–2.

¹⁷⁵ These letters can be found in *Fünfundzwanzig Urkunden zur Geschichte Livlands im dreizehnten Jahrhundert. Aus dem Königlichen Geheimen Archiv zu Kopenhagen*, ed. C. Schirren (Tartu, 1866), no. 3; *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, ed. E. Strehlke (Berlin, 1869), nos 236–7 and no. 240; *LEC*, vol. 1, nos 75–6, nos 78–89 and no. 93; *LEC*, vol. 3, nos 73b–74, 82a, 85a, 87a–b; and in *LEC*, vol. 6, no. 2716. His visit is described at length by Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIX:2–9, pp. 316–28.

Honorius III and the care for the newly converted

A key concern at the curia at this time was the care for the newly converted, a wish to ensure that their conversion should not result in servitude or the imposition of harsh dues, as these might lead to apostasy and deter others from taking the faith. Concerns for the treatment of newly converted had also surfaced in the pontificate of Innocent III, as we saw above.¹⁷⁶

Honorius issued several letters on this matter. In 1217 envoys from Prussia had arrived with new reports and petitions from Bishop Christian. It is possible that some of these had indicated that there was a link between a recent Prussian rebellion and the dues imposed on converts by the Polish and Pomeranian princes involved in the conquest of Prussia.¹⁷⁷ In May and June 1218 Honorius responded to Christian's requests in a series of letters. In one of these, echoing the letter from Innocent III of 1212, he exhorted crusaders going to Prussia to seek not their own benefit, but that of Christ, and to remember that they were to strive to convert the pagans, not force them into servitude and thereby risk their apostasy.¹⁷⁸ A nearly identical letter was issued the following year.¹⁷⁹ Likewise, in a letter of May 1220 to the newly converted in Prussia Honorius emphasised the freedom of the converts as well as of those who were about to receive the faith.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ See Chapter Two, pp. 117ff.

¹⁷⁷ F. Blanke, "Die Entscheidungsjahre der Preussenmission (1206–1274)", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 47 (1928). Reprinted in *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters* [Wege der Forschung 7], ed. H. Beumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), pp. 401–2.

¹⁷⁸ "... quatinus non que vestra sunt, sed que Christi, querentes, ad convertendum ad dominum, non ad subiugandum vestre servituti paganos intendere studeatis, ne, quod absit, illi timentes subici servituti, in sui erroris pertinacia fortius obstinentur...": letter of 16 May 1218: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 26.

¹⁷⁹ Letter of 12 May 1219: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 31; for the dating of this letter, see *DD*, vol. 1:5, p. 200.

¹⁸⁰ "*Ne igitur, si qui nondum ad agnitionem vere fidei pervenerunt, alicuius dubietatis scrupulo retardentur, quominus ad agnoscendam veri luminis claritatem corde pariter et animo convertantur, devotionem vestram rogandam duximus et monendam, per apostolica vobis scripta mandantes, quatinus universis hominibus vestre gentis, qui vobis consanguinitate vel quacunque notitia sunt coniuncti, et eciam omnibus, tam longe quam prope positus, prout vobis possibilitas aderit, intimetis, nos firmum habere propositum, tam conversos, quam eciam faciente domino convertendos in omni libertate fovere et ab iniuriis omnium molestias eisdem inferentium vel gravamen, quantum gratia divina permittet, protectionis apostolice munimine defensare, et quod eos, quantum in nobis est, nunquam alicuius gravari dominio vel iugo patiemur subici servitutis*": letter of 8 May 1220: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 37.

This concern for the freedom of the newly converted was perhaps most strongly stated in a letter of 3 January 1225. This short letter deserves to be quoted in full:

The Roman Church which is known to have regenerated you in Jesus Christ through the Gospel, has wished to maintain you as its special people, because it rejoices and celebrates the fact that you, who just like the younger son, had travelled far away, have been resurrected from the sin of death, and you, who were lost, have been found. According to divine mercy, you will become riches in vessels of grace, you who were vessels of anger ready for destruction. Since you thus have been called to the freedom of the sons of God, reborn through water and the Holy Spirit, and since where God's spirit is there ought to be freedom, and since it is unworthy that you as converts should suffer worse conditions than when you were pagans, because according to the apostle all should work rather to good in those loving God, we establish that your persons and other things which belong to your people or other people in those regions which have been touched by the grace of God shall be under our protection and that of St Peter, living free and subject to nobody but Christ, whose people you are, and obedient to the Roman Church.¹⁸¹

This guarantee to the newly converted of their freedom was issued as part of the preparations for the legatine mission of William of Modena, perhaps at William's request,¹⁸² and it certainly reflects the fact that the curia at the time ascribed great importance to this matter. The letter was reissued by Gregory IX on 5 May 1227, most likely prompted by William.¹⁸³ It thus appears that the curial awareness

¹⁸¹ Letter of 3 January 1225: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 71.

¹⁸² Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 124ff.

¹⁸³ Letter of 5 May 1227: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 60. Envoys from Prussia were at the curia in May 1227 (letters of 5 and 27 May 1227: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, nos 59 and 61), but it is not likely that the reissue was at their request: Honorius III had died on 18 March 1227 and there would hardly have been time for this news to reach Prussia and prompt the bishop to apply to the new pope for a confirmation of the letter guaranteeing the converts' liberty. It is very likely that William was at the curia in May 1227: he had returned to the curia in early 1227 and could well have remained there; only in early July that year is episcopal activity again seen in his see at Modena. As legate he would surely have taken part in the deliberations over the Prussian petitions and could have asked for a reissue of Honorius's letter. A prolonged stay at the curia could be explained by Honorius's death and the election of Gregory in March 1227. The idea gains further credence by the fact that Gregory issued two letters related to Modena in May 1227 (of 5 May 1227: *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 18; of 15 May 1227: *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis Editio*, vol. 3, no. 3). William's involvement in the reissue is tentatively suggested by Donner (*Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 141–2) who does not, however, examine the evidence further.

of the importance of the care of the converts in order to avoid apostasy, which was an issue that had been raised and sustained by the leaders of the Prussian mission, profoundly influenced William. This matter received a great deal of attention in letters issued to him, for instance in February 1236 and March 1238,¹⁸⁴ presumably reflecting the fact that he discussed his concerns about the converts' situation with Pope Gregory.

While in the region, William worked hard to implement this papal policy on the personal freedom of the converts. Henry of Livonia emphasised how during his first legatine mission William repeatedly implored the local powers not to impose harsh dues on the converts and he appointed local Estonians as elders and judges, presumably to establish measures protecting their rights.¹⁸⁵

Honorius III and the new Church in the Baltic region

The successful mission in the Baltic region necessitated a continuous extension of the ecclesiastical organization through the creation of new bishoprics and division into dioceses. Honorius was keen to support this organizational expansion of the Church and issued several letters concerning the new Churches in the Baltic region, but he does not appear to have had any plans for their incorporation into the existing ecclesiastical hierarchies.

He did not try to control the conquest and subjugation of the various parts of the Baltic region by dividing the area into spheres of interest allocated to certain metropolitan Churches. He merely responded to requests from those involved in the mission. In April 1217 he conceded to the archbishop of Magdeburg that those parts of Livonia which could be christianized through the efforts and expense of the Magdeburg Church should be subject to it, but the territory in which it was allowed to engage was not specified in any

¹⁸⁴ Letter of 15 February 1236: *DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 214; letter of 23 February 1236: *DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 215; letter of 8 March 1238: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 157; letter of 9 March 1238: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 158. See also Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, p. 148.

¹⁸⁵ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIX:3, p. 320, and XXIX:7, p. 324. See also J. A. Brundage, "The Thirteenth Century Livonian Crusade: Henricus de Lettis and the First Legatine Mission of Bishop William of Modena", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* Neue Folge 20 (1972). Reprinted in his *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), especially pp. 6–7.

detail: it was simply allowed to work “*in Livonia*”, without any reservations made for the fact that there was already a Church established there.¹⁸⁶ The pope did not apparently envisage any problems would arise from this between the Church of Magdeburg and the Church of Livonia. In October the following year he gave a similar permission to the Danish King Valdemar II, who was planning an expedition to the region and now, presumably having heard of Innocent III’s letter to the Swedish king of 1216,¹⁸⁷ applied for guarantees for the future possession of his conquests. Honorius allowed the king to subject whatever land he conquered from the pagans in the Baltic region to his kingdom and the Danish Church.¹⁸⁸ No specifications of land or indeed peoples were given in the letter. This would not cause confusion in the longer run, as the secular powers were only granted rights in the lands they themselves had conquered,¹⁸⁹ but the papal letters did nothing to stop the competition for conquests. There were no papal attempts to control the developments in the region or to avoid conflicts between the Churches involved in christianizing the region. Rather, the pope simply chose to be reactive and authorized requests from various parties in the region. Presumably this policy was designed to encourage as many parties as possible to take part in the missionary work. The only exception to this is to be found in the letters calling for support to Prussia in which Honorius emphasised that campaigns there should be carried out in consultation with Bishop Christian of Prussia, thus ensuring that this bishop retained full control.¹⁹⁰ The initiative for these papal exhortations, however, probably came from the bishop who is known to have had envoys at the curia when the letters were given.

Nor were there any papal attempts at controlling the details of the ecclesiastical organization once the lands had been subjugated.

¹⁸⁶ Letter of 26 April 1217: *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1, no. 30.

¹⁸⁷ Letter of 4 April 1216: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 52; see Chapter Two, p. 123.

¹⁸⁸ Letter of 9 October 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 145. According to a letter of 10 April 1236 (*DD*, vol. 1:6, no. 217) from Gregory IX, Innocent also promised the Danish king this, but if so, the letter has been lost, and it was not mentioned by Honorius in the letter of 9 October 1218.

¹⁸⁹ See also Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, p. 160.

¹⁹⁰ Letter of 14 February 1217: *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 2, no. 220; letter of 12 May 1218: *Codex Pomeraniae diplomaticus oder Sammlung der die Geschichte Pommerus und Rugens betreffenden Urkunden nach den Originalen, Transsumten und alten Copieen*, ed. K. F. W. Hasselbach et al. (Greifswald, 1843–62), vol. 1, no. 116; letter of 16 May 1218: *DD*, vol. 1:5, no. 139.

In September 1217 Honorius allowed Bishop Albert of Livonia to create two or three new bishoprics “*in partibus Livoniae*”, while the same permission “*in partibus Prucie*” was given to Bishop Christian of Prussia in May 1218.¹⁹¹ In neither case did the pope specify the boundaries of the new dioceses. This lack of papal control led to confusion, Estonia being a case in point. In 1219 the bishop of Estonia, Theodoric, was killed by the Estonians, and the Danes, with whom the bishop had been cooperating, elected a new bishop, Wesselin.¹⁹² In March 1220 the pope replied to letters from Bishop Wesselin, using his title of bishop of Reval. He thus indirectly authorized his election and explicitly acknowledged the bishop’s missionary work in Estonia,¹⁹³ even though, only a few months earlier, in October 1219, he had issued a letter stating that Estonia was subject to the Livonian Church.¹⁹⁴ Until the appointment of the papal legate in December 1224 a state of confusion prevailed. The pope does not seem to have been aware of the developments in the Baltic region, or of its geography, or to have known who was in charge of which part of it.

Honorius hesitated to add an archbishopric to the ecclesiastical organization in the region. As we have seen above, Bishop Albert was keen to have the Livonian see promoted to metropolitan status and had asked for this several times during Honorius’s pontificate, arguing that Archbishop Gerhard of Hamburg-Bremen had tried to hinder his work in order to force him to subject his see to his metropolitan jurisdiction.¹⁹⁵ In November 1219 Honorius refused an application from Albert for the elevation of his see, but he also wrote a sharp letter to the chapter at Bremen, ordering it to stop hindering Albert’s work with their attempts to subjugate his see.¹⁹⁶ Honorius

¹⁹¹ Letter of 30 September 1217: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 40; letter of 5 May 1218: *M. Lucas David’s, Hof-Gerichts-Raths zu Königsberg unter dem Margrafen Albrecht, Preussische Chronik*, ed. E. Hennig and D. F. Schütz, 8 vols. (Königsberg, 1812–17), vol. 3, p. 43.

¹⁹² See Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIII:2, p. 232.

¹⁹³ Letters of 19 March 1220: *DD*, vol. 1:5, nos. 166–7.

¹⁹⁴ Letter of 28 October 1219: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 45.

¹⁹⁵ To put pressure on the Livonian Church Gerhard had obstructed Albert’s recruitment campaigns and tried to stop crusaders from reaching Livonia, leading to a papal reprimand: letter of 30 April 1218: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 41; W. L. Urban, *The Baltic Crusade*, 2nd edition (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 1994), pp. 121–2.

¹⁹⁶ Letter of 7 November 1219: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 47; letter of 26 October 1219: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 44.

did not specify his reasons for refusing Albert's petition, but simply stated that he "did not believe this would further the Livonian Church".¹⁹⁷ In 1223 Albert made another unsuccessful attempt. In his letter rejecting Albert's plan, Honorius did not rule out a future promotion: he stated that this was only a temporary state of affairs "until other decisions are made".¹⁹⁸ He again followed this refusal with a letter to the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, warning Gerhard to cease his attempts at subjecting the Livonian Church and declaring that he "held the Livonian Church and all Churches created by this see in his own hands". The letter explicitly stated that it was prompted by reports, undoubtedly in the form of complaints, from Albert.¹⁹⁹ The pope's refusals probably derived from the fact that he did not feel sufficiently informed of the situation in Livonia to take the step to create an archbishopric. In November 1225 Albert made yet another attempt and Honorius, with a legate in Livonia who could supply him with the necessary information, now ordered Legate William to look into the matter and create a metropolitan see if he deemed it expedient to do so.²⁰⁰ William did not, however, take advantage of this authorization and an archiepiscopal see was not to be erected in Livonia until 1253.

Honorius thus supported the new Church created in the formerly pagan lands in the Baltic region just as he supported the missionary activity there. But like his predecessor he did not have a firm policy on the ecclesiastical organization of the conquered lands, but simply supported most of the requests put to him about this organization and encouraged as many as possible to join the enterprises.

¹⁹⁷ "... id nondum expedire Livoniensi ecclesiae arbitrantur...": letter of 7 November 1219; *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 47.

¹⁹⁸ "... donec... aliter disponatur...": letter of 23 December 1223; *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 2, no. 4633; full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 12, fol. 130: epist. 140.

¹⁹⁹ "... praefatam ecclesiam Livoniensem, et omnes alias ecclesias, quae ab ea et per eam ibidem, Deo cooperante, creantur, ad manus nostras specialiter teneamus", "... sicut venerabilis frater noster, Livoniensis episcopus, nostris auribus intimavit...": letter of 21 December 1223; *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 57.

²⁰⁰ Letter of 19 November 1225; *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 2, no. 5721; full text in *Registra Vaticana* vol. 13, fol. 100, epist. 125.

Conclusions

Pope Honorius III was not, as has been claimed, simply a caretaker of Innocent III's policies. During his pontificate he changed the papal policy on a series of issues, including mission among non-Christians and the Baltic crusades.

Honorius took a much more active and initiating role in external mission than his predecessors. His new policy reflected the emerging interest in the conversion of non-Christians which was one of the results of a series of developments and ideas which came out of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries: the ideas of imitating the *vita apostolica*, the importance ascribed to preaching and evangelizing, and the emphasis in religious orders on living an active rather than a contemplative life.

These developments had had implications for the mission in the Baltic region already before Honorius's pontificate. In the twelfth century members of the new orders had taken up the task, and their emphasis on preaching and evangelizing had clearly influenced their ideas about the methods of conversion. While these ideas had often been modified, if not completely abandoned, they did sometimes influence new missionary undertakings as in Livonia where Bishop Meinhard, a regular canon, may have been initially inspired by the ideas of Bishop Vicelin of Oldenburg about preaching and pastoral care. Meinhard had been joined by several Cistercians, and members of that new Order continued to come to Livonia to realize the ideal of an active life which their prominent fellow Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux had promoted. Soon Polish Cistercians started a new missionary project in Prussia. The Augustinian and Cistercian leaders of these new missionary undertakings began to involve the papacy in their projects. While they received backing from Clement III, Celestine III and Innocent III, they found an even more enthusiastic supporter in Honorius III.

The developments and ideas of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries had also influenced the mendicant orders. Their members saw preaching and mission as their prime objectives, and external mission was a further development of their involvement in preaching and evangelizing among Christians and dissidents.²⁰¹ As Benjamin

²⁰¹ K. Esser, *Anfänge und ursprüngliche Zielsetzungen des Ordens der Minderbrüder* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 229–45.

Kedar concluded in his analysis of the European approaches to Muslims: “the moving force behind the emergence of sustained preaching to the Muslims was the urge to bring the Gospel to all men . . . Preaching to the Muslims was an extension of preaching to the Christians”.²⁰² This is true not only for mission among Muslims, but also for mission among other non-Christians, including the pagans in the Baltic region. The founders of the mendicant orders were now part of a group of men who occasionally met at the curia during Honorius’s pontificate, each bringing new zeal, skills, ideas and information about the conversion of non-Christians. The group encompassed not only Francis and Dominic (who in turn in his youth may have drawn inspiration from the Danish missionary activities), but also Cardinal Ugolino and William of Modena, future legate to the Baltic missions. These men may have influenced Honorius and inspired in him an interest in preaching among non-Christians. Presumably the pope had already been made susceptible to these ideas by the very same spiritual developments which also had influenced and moved the founding members of the mendicant orders.

Pope Innocent III had taken a leading role in mission among heretics which had created a form of precedent for active papal involvement in mission. Honorius now expanded this to include external mission. During his pontificate mission among pagans and infidels was given new emphasis and joined reform of preaching and mission among heretics on the papal agenda. With the new papal policy missionary initiative no longer rested solely with local bishops and secular rulers. In 1221 Honorius initiated a large-scale missionary campaign among non-Christians. The plan did apparently not meet with any success, and so by 1225 Honorius decided to use other strategies. Realizing the potential of the missionary zeal of the Dominicans and Franciscans, he seized the opportunity to tie the orders to the papacy and put their resources to use according to his own missionary agenda. The new mendicant orders, therefore, not only influenced papal thought on mission, but were also employed by the pope as key instruments in the work. While the Cistercians had been the favoured papal tool in internal mission, the mendicant orders now became the preferred tool in external mission. It was

²⁰² Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, pp. 133–4.

already during Honorius III's pontificate that they emerged as important missionary organizations, a role in which they were to continue for centuries.

The new papal policy on external mission also had consequences for the ongoing mission in the Baltic region. Honorius followed up the missionary campaigns not only by traditional measures to create and secure an ecclesiastical organization in the missionary fields, but also by a keen concern for the social and legal situation of the new converts. This interest was not new, but Honorius developed the policy and issued a series of letters on this matter, often prompted by reports from the region.

He also changed the papal policy on the Baltic crusades. He supported the continuing crusades in Livonia, and he also authorized crusades in Prussia, thereby allowing a transformation of the missionary venture there. He gave the Baltic crusades his full endorsement. By consistently granting a plenary indulgence to all participants in the Baltic crusades, as well as frequently giving indulgences to those who supported these crusades financially or sponsored crusaders, he demonstrated that he regarded the crusades in the Baltic as being on a par with those in aid of the Holy Land and put in place measures that could secure these campaigns more manpower and resources. In this way Honorius took a different line on the Baltic crusades than his predecessor. He did, however, regard the Fifth Crusade as having a higher priority than the Baltic crusades and took care to ensure that the Baltic enterprises did not deprive that crusade of resources.

It is suggested here that the general papal interest in external mission observed during Honorius's pontificate may go some way in explaining this change in the papal policy on the Baltic crusades. It may have been Honorius's desire to achieve the conversion of the Baltic pagans which led him to change the policy on these campaigns in order to ensure that the missionaries working there enjoyed more resources and better defence against the pagans who, he was repeatedly informed, threatened converts and missionaries. Up to Honorius's pontificate the impetus behind the Baltic crusades and the initiatives which drove forward developments in papal policy had come mainly from the missionary bishops and local princes and kings, but it appears that ideas in the curia and in the circle of men who met there now led to new and important changes. Alarming reports from the region may certainly have played an important part, but the

people striving to reform the Church found resonance in the pope for their ideas about the importance of external mission and led Honorius to give greater endorsement to the Baltic crusades and mission.

Honorius's policy was, however, in some ways still a reactive one. He did not initiate crusades in the Baltic region, and he did not do much to control or curb the competition between the powers involved in the Baltic mission. This may partly reflect the curia's lack of reliable intelligence. Honorius did not instigate any procedures to acquire information about the region, and a papal legate was only dispatched after requests from Bishop Albert of Livonia.

Innocent III's pontificate had seen a diversification and re-application of the concept of crusade, as crusades now also were preached against political opponents as well as others perceived as a threat against the Church.²⁰³ It was, however, only during the pontificate of Honorius III that the Baltic crusades began to receive greater papal endorsement. It was thus Honorius, not Innocent, who was the most important supporter of the Baltic expeditions in their crucial stage and promoted them as true crusades.

²⁰³ S. Lloyd, "The Crusading Movement, 1096–1274", in *The Oxford Illustrated History of The Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 41–2.

CHAPTER FOUR

PAPAL POLICY ON THE BALTIC CRUSADES DURING THE PONTIFICATES OF GREGORY IX (1227–41) AND INNOCENT IV (1243–54)

In the 1230s the dynamics of the Baltic campaigns changed, as the Teutonic Order arrived on the scene. The decade also saw the Danes regaining influence in Estonia and the papacy becoming more closely involved in the region. These changes in the group of key actors who drove forward the conquest and conversion of the peoples of the eastern and central part of the Baltic region were to have significant effects on the future of the region, as the campaigns intensified and expanded their geographical scope in the following decades.

But first the mission in Livonia went through a period of turmoil as relations between the curia and the Christian powers engaged in Livonia broke down. It began with the death of Bishop Albert of Riga in January 1229. A dispute arose over the election of his successor, and the parties appealed to the curia. Eventually the Cistercian Baldwin of Alna was dispatched to Riga to settle the matter.¹ He proved to be a poor choice. He adjudicated over the episcopal election in favour of Nicholas, a Premonstratensian canon from Magdeburg, but soon became embroiled in disputes with the Sword-Brothers, Bishop Nicholas and the citizens of Riga. The contested issue was the control over the conquered lands, including the northern Estonian provinces which in the 1220s had been transferred to Legate William and then left with the various Christian powers of Livonia.² Baldwin demanded that the lands be transferred to his hands, but the Christian

¹ Gregory IX had first commissioned his legate to Germany, Cardinal Otto of St Nicholas, to decide the matter. He, in turn, asked Baldwin, one of his aides, to settle the issue (letter of 4 April 1230: *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray [*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Ser. 2], 4 vols (Paris, 1890–1955), no. 437).

² See Chapter Three, p. 135.

powers refused to cooperate, and Baldwin was forced to flee Livonia.³ He was eventually deposed by Pope Gregory IX in 1234 and replaced with William of Modena.⁴ Baldwin then filed a series of complaints against the bishop of Riga and his allies. His accusations were heard at a large conference at Viterbo in the spring of 1236 to which representatives of all the parties in Livonia had been summoned.⁵ Most of Baldwin's allegations appear to have been dismissed by the papal auditor and the pope, but the conference decided that the northern Estonian provinces, held at the time by the Sword-Brothers, should be returned to the Danish king.⁶

Before this papal verdict could be implemented, the political situation in Livonia changed. At the Battle of Saule in September 1236 the Sword-Brothers suffered a devastating defeat by an army of Lithuanians and Semgallians, and in May 1237 their Order was incorporated into the Teutonic Order.⁷ The Sword-Brothers brought not only their territories, but also their territorial claims and disputes, into this union. The conflict with the Danish king over the northern Estonian lands was finally settled in the Treaty of Stensby of June 1238 in which the Teutonic Order promised to hand over the provinces. The Danish king thereby once again had a foothold in the eastern Baltic region. The parties even agreed to cooperate

³ Letter of [c. 20 November] 1234: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 199, § 9. He also angered them by nullifying treaties they recently had made with the peoples of Kurland: letter of [21 January × 9 August] 1231: *Fontes Historiae Latviae Medii Aevi*, ed. A. Švābe, 2 vols (Riga, 1937–40), vol. 1, no. 164, § 3 and § 10 (see F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1965), p. 277, for a discussion of the date); letter of 28 December 1230: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 103 (but see *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 114, for the date); letter of 17 January 1231: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 104; Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, pp. 273–4. For a discussion of whether Baldwin (or his predecessor) intended to create a papal state in the Baltic region, see my “The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147–1254” (unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2003), Chapter 4, especially pp. 154–80.

⁴ Letter of 21 February 1234: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 176.

⁵ Letter of [c. 20 November] 1234: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 199; letter of 20 November 1234: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 200.

⁶ Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, pp. 322–3; Fonnesberg Schmidt, “The Popes and the Baltic Crusades” (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), pp. 174–7; letter of 23 February 1236: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 215; letter of 7 June 1238: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 9. See also *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 212.

⁷ See the letters of May 1237: *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, nos 3649–52; Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, pp. 327–47 and pp. 354–8; K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg. Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309* [*Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 56] (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1999), pp. 362–4.

on future crusades in the region and to share lands conquered during such campaigns.⁸

The Teutonic Knights had taken an interest in the region since the early 1220s when they had entered into negotiations with Duke Conrad of Masovia (d. 1247) about their participation in the campaigns in Prussia.⁹ Still smarting from their eventually unsuccessful venture in Hungary, the Order was keen to ensure papal and secular guarantees for its new possessions in north-east Europe.¹⁰ With the so-called Golden Bull of Rimini of March 1226, its master became an imperial prince for the province of Kulmerland and all land conquered in the future in Prussia.¹¹ The situation in the Baltic and the employment of the Teutonic Order there were probably discussed during the negotiations for a peace between Pope Gregory IX and Emperor Frederick II (1215–50) in 1229–30, when the Order's grand master, Hermann of Salza (c. 1209–39), a close friend of Frederick, acted as imperial emissary. During the later stages of the conference, William of Modena, who recently had returned from Prussia, joined the papal contingent and evidence suggests that he met with Hermann.¹² In the weeks after the conclusion of the peace at San Germano on 23 July 1230, the pope issued a guarantee to the Teutonic Order of its rights to possess the lands it had acquired in

⁸ The Treaty of Stensby (situated near Vordingborg in Denmark) of 7 June 1238: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 9. The Teutonic Knights were to hand over the castle of Reval and the provinces of Revalia, Jerwia, Vironia and Harria, but the Danish king would donate Jerwia to the Order in perpetuity as an eleemosynary grant, on the condition that it did not build any fortifications there without his consent.

⁹ H. Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens* [*Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 37] (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1987), pp. 42–5; letter of 4 July 1224: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 16.

¹⁰ The Order's venture in Hungary had been hindered by its territorial disputes with King Andrew II of Hungary (Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*, pp. 334ff.; H. Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden. Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1981), pp. 68–9).

¹¹ Letter of March 1226: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 56; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), p. 162; M. Toch, "Welfs, Hohenstaufen and Habsburgs", in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume V: c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 385.

¹² G. A. Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina. Bischof von Modena 1222–1234. Päpstlicher Legat in den Nordischen Ländern (d. 1251)* [*Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanorum Litterarum* II.5] (Helsinki: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1929), pp. 55–6; C. T. Maier, *Preaching the crusades. Mendicant friars and the cross in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 46.

Prussia, in a parallel to the imperial guarantee of 1226.¹³ With these guarantees in place, the Order started its campaign in Prussia in earnest in the spring of 1231. It soon secured itself a strong hold over the territory and, after its union with the Sword-Brothers, over Livonia.¹⁴ Bishop Christian, who at the end of the 1220s still had led the mission in Prussia,¹⁵ was unable to stop the Order's intervention in Prussia. He was held captive by the Prussians from around 1233 to 1238, and this, along with the papal favour bestowed on the Teutonic Knights from the early 1230s, effectively put him out of the running.

The Swedes now resumed their expeditions to Finland where their eastward expansion brought them into conflict over the lands of Tavastia and Karelia with the Russians of Novgorod. The so-called Second Finnish Crusade took place in the middle of the thirteenth century, probably in 1238 or 1239, and was directed against the Tavastians.¹⁶ Tavastia came under Swedish control, a fortress was built to control the conquered lands, and many Tavastians were reportedly baptized. In the early summer of 1240, the Swedes made a push further east, but their progress was stopped in July 1240 by an army from Novgorod.¹⁷

The new relationship between the Order and the Danish king proved itself when the two parties attempted to expand their territories

¹³ Letter of 12 September 1230: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 80; letter of 27 August 1230: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 79.

¹⁴ Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, p. 307; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 45–6.

¹⁵ Letter of 27 May 1227: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 61; see also letter of 11 June 1227: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 62.

¹⁶ This expedition is mentioned in *Erikskrönikan: Erikskrönikan. Enligt Cod. Holm. D2 jämte avvikande läsarter ur andra handskrifter*, ed. R. Pipping, [*Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet* 231, band 68], 2nd edition (Stockholm, 1963), v. 89–156, pp. 6–10. It has been argued that it took place in 1249, but 1238 or 1239 is now suggested as a more likely date; one argument for the earlier date is a papal letter from December 1237 proclaiming a crusade against the Tavastians. See R. Pipping, *Kommentar til Erikskrönikan* [*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland CLXXXVII*] (Helsinki: Åbo Tryckeri och Tidnings Aktiebolag, 1926), pp. 75–136; J. Gallén, “Kring Birger jarl och andre korståget till Finland. En omdatering och en omvärdering”, *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* (1946); and J. H. Lind, “Early Russian-Swedish Rivalry. The Battle on the Neva in 1240 and Birger Magnussons’ Second Crusade to Tavastia”, *Scandinavian Journal of History* 16 (1991), pp. 283–95, for a discussion of the date.

¹⁷ *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471*, ed. and transl. R. Michell and N. Forbes, [*Camden Third Series XXV*] (London, 1914), *sub anno* 1240, pp. 84–5.

further east. Shortly after the Swedes had clashed with the Novgorodian forces in the summer of 1240, an army of Latin Christians from Livonia and Estonia moved eastwards and conquered the fortress of Izborsk, south-west of the city of Pskov.¹⁸ It eventually took over Pskov from where it began to attack the territories of Novgorod. However, on 5 April 1242 the Latin Christian army was famously defeated at Lake Peipus (Chud or Peipsi) by an army from Novgorod, and the Latin Christians had to accept a peace treaty which forced them to return all the lands they had conquered during this campaign.¹⁹

The defeat at Lake Peipus in 1242 put an end to the Teutonic Order's eastward expansion. The Livonian branch of the Order, led by its own provincial master, turned its attention to the region south of its Livonian lands. At first the Order focused on the re-conquest of Kurland, whose inhabitants had reverted to paganism in breach of a series of treaties which they had concluded in the early 1230s with the Christian powers in Livonia.²⁰ Meanwhile, the Prussian branch of the Order had to focus on consolidating its hold over Prussia. It faced opposition not only from the Prussians, but also from Polish and Pomerelian nobles who competed with the Teutonic Knights over the subjugation of the Prussian lands. In 1242 the Pomerelian Duke Swietopolk of Danzig (Gdańsk) (d. 1266) joined forces with the Prussians against the Order and instigated a rebellion amongst this people. The uprising was suppressed in 1246, and peace was made between the Order and the Prussians with the Treaty of Christburg of 1249.²¹ The other main threat to the Order's control and expansion in the region came from the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian leader, Mindaugas, attacked the Knights in Prussia in 1244–5 in alliance with the Samogitians—the peoples living in the lands between Livonia and Prussia near the Kurisches Haff and thus separating the Order's

¹⁸ *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno 1240*, p. 85; *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. L. Meyer (Paderborn, 1876), v. 2065–98, pp. 48–9; J. H. Lind, C. S. Jensen, K. V. Jensen and A. L. Bysted, *Danske korstog. Krig og mission i Østersøen* (Copenhagen: Høst og Søn, 2004), pp. 278–80.

¹⁹ *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno 1240 and 1242*, pp. 85–7; Lind, Jensen, Jensen and Bysted, *Danske korstog*, pp. 280–3.

²⁰ K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*, pp. 374ff.; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580. From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 337ff. See also in note 3, p. 188 above.

²¹ Letter of 7 February 1249: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 218; M. Burleigh, “The Military Orders in the Baltic”, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume V: c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 746.

territories. The two branches of the Order subsequently cooperated in the fight to subjugate the lands between Livonia and Prussia and the Lithuanians and Samogitians, but with little lasting success.²²

Crusades in Prussia during the pontificate of Gregory IX

Pope Gregory IX issued several letters concerning the campaigns in Prussia. Most of these were responses to requests from the Teutonic Order. In January 1230 he authorized the Order to take up the fight against the pagans in Prussia, but it was two practically identical letters of September 1230, both entitled *Cum misericors* and sanctioning crusades there, which kicked off the Knights's campaigns.²³ From then onwards, the Teutonic Order repeatedly and successfully petitioned the curia for letters to support its campaign in Prussia by confirming its leading role in the crusades there, exhorting nobles and other participants in these campaigns to fight under its leadership, safeguarding its possessions, and securing its cooperation with the Dominicans. New clusters of papal letters were issued in October 1233 and August-September 1234.

More were written in response to reports from other local Christian powers. On 18 July 1231 Gregory authorized the preaching of crusades by the Dominicans in Pomerania and on Gotland in aid of the new converts in Prussia. This letter, *Cum lux illa*, was probably prompted by Bishop Christian; it refers to the difficulties suffered by him and his new converts at the hands of the pagans.²⁴ In January 1232 Gregory acted upon reports from the bishops of Masovia, Leslau

²² Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 77; K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg*, pp. 374ff.; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 337ff.; Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, pp. 151ff. In 1253 Mindaugas converted and concluded a treaty with the Knights, but in the early 1260s peace was broken (Burleigh, "The Military Orders in the Baltic", p. 751, see also pp. 745–6).

²³ Letter of 18 January 1230: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 72; two letters of 13 September 1230: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae Gentiumque Finitimarum Historiam Illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner, 4 vols (Rome, 1860–4), vol. 1, nos 41–2 (no. 42 is also in *PUB*, vol 1.1, no. 81, but dated to 17 September 1230). The first letter exhorted all faithful in the wider Baltic region to support the Order's Prussian crusades; the second encompassed the first letter but concluded with an exhortation to the Dominicans to preach the crusades.

²⁴ Letter of 18 July 1231: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 85. According to another letter issued that day (letter of 18 July 1231: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 86) he had reported to the curia at the time.

(Włocławek) and Breslau (Wrocław) as well as a group of local nobles. They had informed him, in great detail, of atrocities committed by the pagans against the new converts in Prussia, and Gregory now ordered that a crusade against the pagans Prussians should be preached in the kingdom of Bohemia. The letter copied several sections from *Cum misericors* of September 1230 and ascribed a leading role in the campaign to the Teutonic Order.²⁵

Gregory continued the practice of his immediate predecessors of legitimizing the crusades against the pagans as defensive wars in aid of the converts and the missionaries working for the Church. This was the case for the Prussian campaigns, whether they were prompted by the Teutonic Order or by others. In *Cum lux illa* of July 1231 which authorized the preaching of crusades in Pomerania and Gotland it was thus stated that the purpose of this crusade was the defence of the newly converted and the missionaries working among them.²⁶ A similar defensive purpose was put forward in the letters authorizing the Teutonic Order's campaigns in Prussia. When in September 1230 Gregory authorized the Order's crusade there, he described how the pagan Prussians had attacked the converts in Prussia, who were too few in number to put up resistance. He was therefore calling for a defensive campaign. But in the papal letters concerning the campaigns conducted by the Order, another element was added. The letters *Cum misericors* of September 1230 both stated that the crusaders should not only strive to liberate the Christians from the hands of the pagans, "*ad liberandum proximos de manibus Paganorum*", but also to vindicate the injury done to God's name, "*ad vindicandem iniuriam [Dei] nomini*".²⁷ The letter of January 1232 contained an even more detailed description of the pagan threat, again implying the importance of defence against these barbarians, before repeating almost verbatim the exhortation "*ad liberandum proximos de manibus paganorum*" and the need "*ad vindicandem iniuriam crucifixi*".²⁸ The exhortations to vindicate the injuries done to the Lord's name or to Christ, that is, to the Church, were quite common in letters regarding crusades to

²⁵ Letter of 23 January 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 87.

²⁶ Letter of 18 July 1231: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 85.

²⁷ Letters of 13 September 1230: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, nos. 41–2.

²⁸ Letter of 23 January 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 87.

the Holy Land and had been used in several letters concerning the Holy Land during Innocent III's pontificate.²⁹ But only once, in Innocent III's letter of 1206 to the Danish archbishop, had a similar phrase been used in letters regarding the war against the pagans in the Baltic, and I have already suggested that in this case the wording may have been a paraphrasing of the archbishop's letter to the pope.³⁰ The appearance of this phrase in the letters concerning the crusades in Prussia may have been at the suggestion of the Teutonic Knights, who may have wished to emphasise that their new venture was in aid of the Church, just as their work hitherto in the Holy Land had been, and to associate its Prussian campaigns with the crusades to the East.³¹

In *Cum misericors* of September 1230 Pope Gregory gave a full indulgence, explicitly equal to that for crusades to the Holy Land, to those who served in Prussia for a year, whether they were funded by themselves or by others. Those who supported the fight financially also received an indulgence, as did those who died in the state of penitence.³² In the letter of January 1232 this indulgence formula was repeated almost verbatim, omitting only the reference to those who died while in a state of penitence.³³ Using a different formula, the letter *Cum lux illa* of 18 July 1231 also promised a plenary indulgence—

²⁹ For instance in the bull *Pium et sanctum propositum*, issued in 1213 along with *Quia maior*: letter of [April–May 1213]: *DD*, vol. 1.5, no. 30; also issued to the Swedish archbishop: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols (Berlin, 1874–5), no. 4724. See also Chapter Two, note 44 on p. 89.

³⁰ “. . . de christiani nominis iniuria uindicanda . . .”: letter of 13 January [1206]: *DD*, vol. 1.4, no. 109. See Chapter Two, p. 89.

³¹ Letter of 17 September 1230: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 81; letter of 23 January 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 87. Another letter may support this argument. When on 15 September 1236 Gregory issued a letter concerning crusades in Livonia and the surrounding lands, he copied part of the *dispositio* of these letters, but did not include the exhortation to vindicate the injuries done to the Church. This supports the view that the insertion of this expression in the letters regarding the campaigns in Prussia were related to the Order's role there (letter of 15 February 1236: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 144, see *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 214, for the dating).

³² “*Nos de omnipotentis dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus, qui laborem istum in propriis personis subierint et expensis, et eis, qui non in expensis propriis illuc accesserint, ibidem per unius anni spatium seruituri, seu illis, qui ad subventionem fidelium de propriis facultatibus ministrabunt, iuxta quantitatem subsidii et devotio-nis affectum peccatorum suorum veniam indulgemus, ita quod illi, qui in penitentia vera ibi decesserint, sicut transeuntes in terre sancte subsidium plenam remissionem peccaminum consequantur*”: letter of 13 September 1230: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 41.

³³ Letter of 23 January 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 87.

again explicitly equated with that granted to crusaders going to the Holy Land—to those who went to Prussia themselves as well as to those who sent others in their place; again, those supporting this fight financially also received an indulgence.³⁴ None of these letters mention any temporal privileges granted to crusaders going to Prussia. While the letters of September 1230 do not mention commutation of vows, the letters of July 1231 and January 1232 allowed the Dominican preachers in Pomerania, Gotland and Bohemia to commute the vows of those *crucesignati*, who had been too weak or poor to fulfil their vow in the Holy Land, to go to Prussia instead.³⁵

The Teutonic Order must have been delighted that participants in the crusades under their leadership received a plenary indulgence explicitly related to that granted to crusaders in the Holy Land. This would, of course, facilitate recruitment and demonstrated that their new venture in Prussia was as important as the work they had done in the Holy Land. Already the missionary bishop of Livonia appears, as mentioned above,³⁶ to have worked for the granting of a status similar to the crusades against the Muslims in the Holy Land. The point seems to have been of great importance to the Knights. In Peter of Dusburg's chronicle, the 'official' history of the Teutonic Order composed in the later half of the 1330s, it was emphasised the crusaders fighting in Prussia received the same privileges and indulgences as crusaders in the Holy Land.³⁷ The Order made another attempt at establishing a link to the crusades to the Holy Land. In 1233, Gregory granted a ten days' indulgence to crusaders who, once in Prussia, honoured the relic of the Holy Cross held by the Order here.³⁸ This relic may have been donated to the Order by Emperor Frederick II. Peter of Dusburg claimed that the Venetians gave

³⁴ "... qui ... assumpserunt in partibus Pruscie negotium fidei ex animo prosequendum, plantationem novellam fidei christiane tam spiritualibus quam materialibus defensuri, tam eis quam illis, qui aliquos illuc in suis mittent expensis vel ad eorum subventionem de suis facultatibus ministrabunt, concessa per nos iuxta quantitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum venia peccatorum, secundum quod transituris Jerosolimam indulgetur": letter of 18 July 1231: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 85.

³⁵ Letter of 18 July 1231: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 85; letter of 23 January 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 87.

³⁶ See Chapter Two, pp. 84–5.

³⁷ Peter of Dusburg, *Chronica terre Pruscie*, ed. K. Scholz and D. Wojtecki [*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XXV*] (Darmstadt, 1984), II:13, p. 96; A. Ehlers, "Die Ablaßpraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Göttingen: Georg-August-Universität, 2002), pp. 28–9.

³⁸ Letter of 12 October 1233: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 103.

Frederick “*magnam partem sancte crucis*” and that the emperor subsequently donated this to Hermann who sent it to the Order’s fortress at Elbing.³⁹ The relic of the True Cross had played an important role in the religious and military life of the kingdom of Jerusalem before its loss at the Battle of Hattin in 1187, having been employed perhaps especially to raise morale before battles.⁴⁰

Preaching the Prussian crusades: Gregory IX, the Teutonic Order and the Dominicans

The Teutonic Order’s campaign in Prussia came to rely on close cooperation with the Dominicans. This was coordinated by the papacy from the very beginning of the Teutonic Order’s engagement in Prussia, as the Dominicans were already being exhorted to preach the crusade for the Knights in *Cum misericors* of September 1230.⁴¹ Their extensive employment as preachers for the crusades in Prussia was the result of a meeting in 1230 between the master of the Teutonic Order, Hermann of Salza, Gregory and William of Modena. It cannot now be decided from which of the parties the idea initially came. William may have reported that the friars were already engaged in the region where they were involved in the mission itself, preaching amongst the conquered peoples. For instance, in 1227 Duke Swietopolk of Danzig had donated land to found a Dominican convent at Danzig from where the friars were to work “*pro paganorum conversione*”.⁴² Hermann may have taken up the idea of employing the Dominicans in the crusade propaganda because he was aware

³⁹ Peter of Dusburg, *Chronica terre Prusie* I:5, p. 52; Ehlers, “Die Ablaßpraxis des Deutschen Ordens” (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 32.

⁴⁰ A. V. Murray, “‘Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ’: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem”, in *The Crusades and Their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 218, p. 228, and *passim*.

⁴¹ Letter of 13 September 1230: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 42.

⁴² Letter of 5 May 1227: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 58; B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts* [Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 3] (Habelschwerdt: Frankes, 1924), pp. 162–3 and pp. 199–209. By 1230 the Order also had convents at Breslau, Cammin and Kulm (Chelmno) (Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 47). For the Dominicans’ activities in the region see also letter of 9 July 1231: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 84; Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, p. 164. In letters issued to the Dominicans in October 1233, Gregory encouraged their master to send friars to preach in Prussia (letter of 6 October 1233: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 98) and exhorted them to support the Teutonic Order working there (letter of 7 October 1233: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 100).

of the preaching done by the Dominican John of Wildeshausen for Frederick II's crusade to the Holy Land between 1225 and 1227, when John had worked alongside the papal legate, Conrad of Urarch, in south-western Germany.⁴³

The idea could also have originated with Pope Gregory and it would certainly have been keenly endorsed by him. There was, as described earlier, a strong bond between Dominic and Gregory who as Cardinal Ugolino had supported Dominic during the first years of the Order. Once elected as pope, his support continued. He had previously commissioned other Dominican friars as crusade preachers, for instance Raymond of Penyafort.⁴⁴ Individual Dominicans had thus already been involved in crusading propaganda, but their employment *en bloc* in the preaching campaigns started with the cooperation between the Teutonic Order and the Dominicans in Prussia.⁴⁵

Gregory soon began using the mendicants on a large scale in crusade propaganda elsewhere, including in campaigns for crusades to the Holy Land. As pointed out by Michael Lower, they were ideally suited for the task. Not only were the friars devoted to preaching; they were also committed to a life of apostolic imitation, evangelization and voluntary poverty, and their exhortations to follow in the footsteps of Christ and take up the cross may therefore have had a poignant significance with the audience. Furthermore, the friars were popular in the urban centres where they could recruit large audiences. The townspeople may not have had the desire or ability to go on crusade themselves, but they could take a vow and later redeem it, and the redemption of vows was, as Lower has shown, an essential element in Pope Gregory's plans for the financing of the crusades.⁴⁶ Like the Cistercians, the friars were also organized in a strict hierarchy and were subject to an annual general chapter which facilitated the planning and implementation of cooperation between these Orders and the papacy.⁴⁷

In September 1234 Gregory began planning a crusade to be ready for Palestine when the truce between Frederick II and the sultan of Egypt ended in 1239. He issued the bull *Rachel suum videns* calling

⁴³ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 32.

⁴⁴ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 32–3.

⁴⁵ See Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 32–62 and p. 163.

⁴⁶ M. Lower, *The Barons' Crusade. A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), Chapter One, especially pp. 21–2 and pp. 34–6.

⁴⁷ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 4–5.

for a crusade and commissioned the Dominicans and the Franciscans to preach this crusade.⁴⁸ In July 1235 he sent a letter to the Franciscans of Ireland, Austria and perhaps also other provinces, allowing them to grant those who heard their sermons for the crusade to the East an indulgence of ten, twenty or thirty days; the friars were furthermore allowed to absolve those who had been excommunicated for arson or violence against clerics, if they took the cross.⁴⁹ This resembles two almost identical letters issued a few years earlier, in February 1232, in which the Dominicans in the provinces of Magdeburg and Lund were exhorted to preach for the Teutonic Order's Prussian crusade. They were allowed to give their listeners a twenty days indulgence and to absolve those who had been excommunicated for arson or violence against clerics, if they took the cross for Prussia.⁵⁰

It looks, therefore, as if the approach taken in the Baltic of using the mendicant orders in crusade preaching was transferred, with the same privileges, to other theatres of war. It cannot be conclusively determined whether Pope Gregory had already decided in September 1230 to employ the mendicant orders *en bloc* as preachers for crusades in various theatres of war when such crusades were proclaimed, or whether it was the success of the Dominicans' recruitment campaigns for the Prussian crusades which inspired him to use this system elsewhere. The case of the Stedinger crusade may suggest that the latter possibility is most likely. This crusade had been requested by the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen against the rebellious Stedinger peasants on the Unter-Weser. A crusade was authorized in October 1232, after careful investigation into the matter, and the authorization was repeated in January 1233 and—with a plenary indulgence—in June 1233. Although the Dominicans had been involved in the investigation of the case against the Stedinger peasants, the commission to preach the crusade was given to the bishops of Lübeck,

⁴⁸ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 35; letters of 17 November 1234: *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, nos 2200–2.

⁴⁹ Letter of 13 July 1235: *Pontifica Hibernica. Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland, 640–1261*, ed. M. P. Sheeney, 2 vols (Dublin, 1962 and 1965), vol. 2, no. 228; see also an almost identical letter to the Dominicans of 15 May 1235: *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. C. Rodenberg, [*Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*], 3 vols (Berlin, 1883–94), vol. 1, no. 640; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 35–6.

⁵⁰ Letter of 3 February 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 89; letter of 5 February 1232: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 132.

Minden and Ratzeburg, suffragans of Hamburg-Bremen. They were allowed to recruit individual Dominican friars to assist them, but responsibility rested with the bishops.⁵¹ This arrangement may reflect the wishes of the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, but it certainly does not suggest that Gregory had at that point formed an overall plan of employing the Dominican Order *en bloc* in the recruitment of crusaders.

The arrangement in the Baltic region which had begun with the letters of September 1230 continued. In 1231 the Dominicans in Pomerania and Gotland were exhorted to preach crusades in aid of Prussia, as were the Dominicans in Bohemia in 1232; the Dominicans were called upon again in 1234 and in 1236 when the Dominicans in Poland were urged to preach crusades for the Teutonic Order's campaigns in Prussia.⁵² It appears to have been extended to Livonia after the union between the Teutonic Order and the Sword-Brothers in May 1237.⁵³ The granting of indulgences for attending recruitment sermons given by the Dominicans in February 1232 was a novel feature in the Baltic crusades and was of course devised to secure the preachers the largest possible audience.⁵⁴ Gregory thus took care to issue guidelines—clearly after consultation with the Teutonic Order⁵⁵—about the preaching and recruitment for the crusades in Prussia and to boost attendance at the crusade sermons.

The first crusade organized in Prussia under the leadership of the Teutonic Knights aimed at recruiting crusaders in Magdeburg, Hamburg-Bremen, Poland, Pomerania, Moravia, Suravia, Holstein and Gotland, that is, in the lands surrounding Prussia. The area of recruitment was expanded to Bohemia in 1232, and these crusades were also preached in other lands in northern and eastern Europe,

⁵¹ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 52–6.

⁵² Letter of 18 July 1231: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 85; letter of 23 January 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 87; letter of 9 September 1234: *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 2098; letter of 22 February 1236: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 123. The fact that the Dominicans were asked to preach for the crusade in 1231 which apparently came about at the instigation of Bishop Christian may suggest that the idea of employing Dominicans was Pope Gregory's idea. It certainly shows that he already by that point found the arrangement useful.

⁵³ Letter of 30 May 1237: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 151. For the union between the two Orders, see p. 175 above.

⁵⁴ Letter of 3 February 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 89; letter of 5 February 1232: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 132.

⁵⁵ The letter of 5 February 1232 bears the proctor mark of the Teutonic Order, 'Sancta + Maria': see *DD*, vol. 1.6, p. 178.

including Denmark. The geographical regions designated for recruitment for the Order's campaigns in Prussia thus covered a wider area than that hitherto assigned to recruitment for the Livonian mission.

Financing and organizing the Prussian crusades

Pope Gregory's support also included financial assistance to the Teutonic Knights. Among the papal letters issued in September 1234 was one admonishing archbishops and bishops of those dioceses in which the crusades were being preached to ensure that the donations for them were transferred to the Knights; an identical letter was issued to the Dominicans.⁵⁶ After the union between the Teutonic Order and the Sword-Brothers in 1237, Gregory ordered the Dominican friars preaching crusades for Livonia to hand over to the Knights the income received from redemption of vows and donations.⁵⁷ The Order also received indirect financial support. Legate William issued a letter, probably in 1235, granting those who served the Teutonic Order on their property in Kulmerland and Cujavia the same indulgences as those who did active service in Prussia.⁵⁸

Gregory also made arrangements to secure for the Order the control over the Prussian campaigns. In *Cum misericors* of September 1230 it was clearly stated that crusaders were to fight under the leadership of the Teutonic Knights, and the letter of January 1232, which repeated several passages of these earlier ones, also contained this order.⁵⁹ In a letter of October 1233, Gregory asked the crusaders in Prussia to support and obey the Knights working there.⁶⁰ In September 1234 he ordered the crusaders in Prussia to work under the Order's command; and on the same day he issued a letter ordering converts to follow the Order's lead.⁶¹ It is remarkable that the letter *Cum illa lux* of 18 July 1231 also encouraged crusaders to do so, even though

⁵⁶ Letter of 9 September 1234: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 114.

⁵⁷ Letter of 30 May 1237: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 151.

⁵⁸ "*Cum fratres domus s. Marie Theuton. in Chulmine et in Cuiavia constituti conservacioni et profectui negocii s. crucis in Pruscie partibus vigilanter intendant et ad hoc cruce signatorum, qui eis serviant, auxilio indigeant, omnibus, qui in curiis eorumdem fratrum servire pro deo voluerint, eandem indulgenciam concedimus, quam habent stantes in Prusia vel in expedicionem euntes*": letter of [1235]: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 120.

⁵⁹ Letter of 13 September 1230: *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, no. 41; letter of 23 January 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 87.

⁶⁰ Letter of 7 October 1233: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 102.

⁶¹ Letters of 9 September 1234: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, nos 115–16.

this letter appears to have been prompted by Bishop Christian. The letter exhorted the Dominican crusade preachers to implore the crusaders to follow the guidance given by Bishop Christian and by the Teutonic Knights who now, as the pope explained, had taken up the work in Prussia alongside Christian.⁶² This testifies to Gregory's determination to promote the Order as the leading force in the Prussian mission, at the expense of Bishop Christian.

The pope thus gave his full support to the Teutonic Order's work in Prussia and aided them through a series of letters which eventually were to secure for it sole control over the campaigns here. The Order's attempt to gain control over the Prussian enterprise was of course greatly aided by Bishop Christian's captivity from 1233 to 1238.⁶³ Gregory also encouraged Legate William to take this line: in 1234 William received a letter exhorting him to assist the Order and its work in Prussia. The papal legate was not to assume any sort of responsibility for the campaigns in Prussia, but merely to aid and protect the Knights in charge of them.⁶⁴ William followed this papal counsel and cooperated closely with the Order, even if he may occasionally have had some concerns about the Order's treatment of the new converts. In March 1238 Gregory thus issued two letters ordering William to protect converts and ensure that they were not unduly burdened and enjoyed the same rights as other Christians; these letters appear to have been prompted by reports from William.⁶⁵

But Gregory did not always fully condone the Order's actions or, for that matter, William's support for the Order's conduct. The pope had received complaints from the Danish king who in March 1238 still was waiting for the return of the castle of Reval and its lands through the implementation of the papal decision from Viterbo from the spring of 1236.⁶⁶ He now issued a sharp rebuke to William, ordering him to stop favouring the Order and to release the papal letter concerning the return of this fortress. The pope explained that he was taking this step after prompting from the Danish king who after several frustrated appeals to William had decided to take the

⁶² Letter of 18 July 1231: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 85.

⁶³ See p. 190 above.

⁶⁴ Letter of 9 September 1234: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 111.

⁶⁵ Letter of 8 March 1238: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 157; letter of 9 March 1238: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 158.

⁶⁶ Letter of 10 April 1236: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 217. See also p. 188 above.

matter to the curia. Gregory warned William that if he did not comply, the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen and Magdeburg were to take over the matter.⁶⁷ A few years later, in 1240, after Bishop Christian's release from captivity, Gregory ordered the bishop of Meissen to examine the complaints filed by Christian against the Order.⁶⁸ These matters did not, however, do any serious damage to the relationship between Gregory and the Order which remained in papal favour, at the expense of Bishop Christian's mission.

Gregory's interest in and support to the Teutonic Order may have been fuelled partly by his knowledge of the Order's work in Hungary around 1217 to 1219,⁶⁹ but it was certainly furthered by his contact with its grand-master, Hermann of Salza. The pope's endorsement of the Order shows that he was not afraid to support a strong power in the region. He did not attempt to fragment authority in Prussia, but allowed the Order to become the prevalent force in the Prussian mission, even though a competing and fragmented mission perhaps would have left more scope for papal authority.

Papacy, Empire and the Baltic region

It has often been suggested that there was rivalry between the German empire and the papacy over control of the mission in the Baltic. This partly reflects the tendency of nineteenth and early twentieth century historians to see the papal-imperial conflict as the main catalyst for events not only in Germany, but also in the wider northern European region.

In the relations between pope and emperor in the early 1220s Sicily had still been a cause for friction, but Pope Honorius had taken a conciliatory line, hoping for Frederick's participation in the Fifth Crusade. In the early 1220s Frederick had repeatedly promised to join the crusade, but had delayed his departure several times. In 1225 the time of his departure had been fixed for August 1227, but when the time came, the emperor had once again deferred his expedition, leading Pope Gregory to excommunicate him in September.

⁶⁷ Letter of 13 March 1238: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 5. The presence of a Danish messenger at the curia at the time is furthermore suggested by other letters issued to the Danish realm at the time (letters of 13 and 19 March 1238: *DD*, vol. 1.7, nos 6 and 7).

⁶⁸ Letter of 11 April 1240: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 134.

⁶⁹ See Chapter Three, pp. 158–9.

In June 1228 Frederick finally left for the Holy Land, and in his absence, Gregory tried to promote Otto of Lüneburg, the nephew of Otto IV, as anti-king. Peace between emperor and pope was, however, secured at San Germano in the summer of 1230, and several years of peaceful interaction and even cooperation between Gregory and Frederick ensued, until relations soured in the middle of the 1230s over the issue of the Lombard League.⁷⁰ On 20 March 1239 the pope excommunicated Frederick for the second time in his pontificate. Gregory died on 21 August 1241, leaving the dispute with the emperor unresolved.⁷¹

How did this affect affairs in the Baltic? In 1220 Emperor Frederick had displayed no interest in becoming involved in the new mission there. That year Bishop Albert of Riga had turned to Frederick for support, but the emperor had refused to become involved in events and had sent Albert away with nothing but advice.⁷² In March 1224 Frederick had issued a letter guaranteeing the newly converted in Livonia, Estonia, Sambia, Prussia, Semgallia “*et in aliis provinciis convicinis*” their freedom.⁷³ This letter, the so-called *Kaisermanifest*, has evoked great debate among scholars and has often been regarded as evidence for competition between pope and emperor over the leadership of the mission in the Baltic.⁷⁴ Some verbal similarities between this letter and the papal letter of 3 January 1225, also guaranteeing the converts their freedom, has added fuel to this idea, suggesting to scholars such as Erich Caspar that the pope issued his letter in reply to the *Kaisermanifest*.⁷⁵ However, Herman Kluger disagrees with Caspar’s interpretation and emphasises that the emperor

⁷⁰ C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 565; Toch, “Welfs, Hohenstaufen and Habsburgs”, pp. 385–7; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 149–51; D. Abulafia, “The Kingdom of Sicily under the Hohenstaufen and Angevins”, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume V: c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 500–5.

⁷¹ Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 562–6; Toch, “Welfs, Hohenstaufen and Habsburgs”, p. 390; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 63.

⁷² *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, [*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XXIV*] (Darmstadt, 1959), XXIV:4, p. 260.

⁷³ Letter of March 1224: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 52.

⁷⁴ E. Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1971), pp. 133ff.

⁷⁵ E. Caspar, *Hermann von Salza und die Gründung des Deutschordensstaats in Preussen* (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1924), pp. 24ff. For the letter of 3 January 1225, see Chapter Three, p. 178.

at the time sought to avoid further confrontation with the papacy; he therefore finds it unlikely that this letter was issued as “kaiserliche Gegenpropaganda gegenüber der Kurie”.⁷⁶ Ernst Pitz refutes the idea of competition completely. He convincingly proposes that the letter was issued after requests from William who, after his meeting with the Livonian envoys in January 1224, had begun to prepare his visit to the region; the letter reflects William’s concern for the converts.⁷⁷ Pitz argues that its wording shows that it was in fact not a *Manifest*, but a *Reskript*; he furthermore makes the point that it must have been prompted by someone with knowledge of the mission in the Baltic region. How else would the emperor, at the time in Catania on Sicily, have known of the situation in the region? The fact that the imperial letter of March 1224 includes the wider Baltic region, and not simply Prussia or Livonia and Estonia, suggests that the petitioner behind this letter was not Bishop Christian or Bishop Albert, two otherwise possible candidates for such guarantees, but somebody with a general interest in the Baltic mission; William of Modena would fit this bill. Finally, Pitz demonstrates that William was in touch with the emperor at the time and in March 1224 obtained two letters concerning his see in Modena.⁷⁸ If Pitz’s analysis holds true, it would suggest that the emperor took an interest in the Baltic mission and wished to assert his sphere of interest and benevolent protection to the region, but that he did not harbour any plans to become directly involved in the mission.

Nor did subsequent contact between emperor and the Livonian mission lead to direct imperial involvement. Frederick and his son Henry issued letters in, respectively, 1232 and 1228 taking the Christian powers in Livonia into their protection, although in 1232 Frederick took a cautious line: unlike that of his son, his letter did not mention the Sword-Brothers’ claims to northern Estonia, and

⁷⁶ Kluger (*Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II.*, p. 44) regards it as an imperial attempt to contain the Danish expansion in the Baltic and to weaken the position of King Valdemar, possibly in order for the emperor to take on a more active role later on.

⁷⁷ Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, p. 133.

⁷⁸ Letter of March 1224: extract in Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, p. 38, note 4; letter of 19 March 1224: extract in Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, p. 39, note 4. William may also have been involved in obtaining letters from the emperor related to the heretics in Lombardy with whom he became involved at the time as judge: Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript*, pp. 124ff.; Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 40ff.

the disputed northern Estonian provinces, apart from Jerwia, were not included in the lists of lands taken under imperial protection.⁷⁹ Such protection was sought by the Sword-Brothers and the bishop of Riga in order to oppose papal claims, but no imperial action followed.

While Emperor Frederick strongly supported the Teutonic Order's new venture in Prussia, as demonstrated by the Golden Bull of Rimini of 1226,⁸⁰ and could do so safe in the knowledge that the Order was led by a grand master, Hermann of Salza, who was his staunch supporter and close ally, very little suggests that he intended to become directly involved in the conquests there. He also supported the Order in the kingdom of Jerusalem; as king of Jerusalem he issued several letters to it in the late 1220s which reflect the Order's wish to safeguard its possessions and revenues here and his willingness to back his faithful supporters.⁸¹ This suggests that his endorsement of the Teutonic Order was less about carving out a state for the Order in Prussia, in which he could gain control through his affiliation with the Order, and more about general support for the Order.

The most important papal letters to the Teutonic Order concerning its activities in Prussia were, as we have seen, issued in September 1230, October 1233, and August–September 1234, immediately after Hermann of Salza had taken part in negotiations between emperor and pope. In late summer 1230 the two had just concluded the peace treaty at San Germano with Hermann as the emperor's chief advisor, and in the summer of 1234 Hermann was present when emperor and pope met at Rieti to discuss the pope's need for support against the rebellious Romans and the emperor's need for support against his rebellious son.⁸² Likewise, when Hermann in October 1233 obtained a group of letters concerning Prussia, he was probably also at the curia on imperial business: Kluger suggests that

⁷⁹ Letter of 1 July 1228: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 100; letter of September 1232: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 127. For the dispute about the northern Estonian provinces, see Chapter Three, p. 135.

⁸⁰ See p. 189 above.

⁸¹ Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II.*, pp. 123–40; J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 171–2.

⁸² Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II.*, p. 169; Toch, “Welfs, Hohenstaufen and Habsburgs”, p. 388.

Hermann visited the curia to discuss various matters, including the emperor's stance on the Lombard League.⁸³ When Gregory issued the letters furthering the Teutonic Order's campaigns in Prussia, he could thus have no illusions that he was supporting an Order neutral towards the German empire. This did not stop him from favouring it and allocating it a decidedly leading role in the mission in the region.

While the dispute between pope and emperor certainly constituted a series of events of major importance in European history, nothing indicates that it spilled over into the affairs of the Baltic mission or at this stage was of great significance for the development of the papal policy there.

Gregory IX and the crusades in Livonia, Estonia and Finland

The only known letter authorizing crusades in Livonia during Gregory's pontificate was *Ne terra vastae*, issued in 1236 during the conference at Viterbo which examined Legate Baldwin's accusations against the Christian powers in Livonia.⁸⁴ The dispute between the local powers and Baldwin may well have made the new bishop of Riga reluctant to appeal to the curia for the authorization of new crusades up to that point. The letter was issued on 15 February 1236 and was addressed to the new legate, William of Modena, ordering him to preach crusades to Livonia, Semgallia, Kurland and Estonia in the church province of Hamburg-Bremen, as well as in the dioceses of Magdeburg, Havelberg, Verden, Minden, Paderborn, part of Brandenburg and on Gotland. William was to recruit crusaders among those who had not yet taken any crusading vows and he was also allowed to commute the vows of impoverished *crucesignati*, enabling them to fulfil their vows in the eastern part of the Baltic region instead of in the Holy Land. The motivation for the crusade was once again the defence of the converts; the need to defend them against pagan attacks is indicated several times,⁸⁵ but also the wish

⁸³ Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II.*, p. 169.

⁸⁴ Letter of 15 February 1236: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 144, see *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 214, for the dating. A letter issued in 1233 or 1234 also mentions crusades in Livonia, but does not authorize new crusades: letter of [1233 × 1234]: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 170. For the background for Baldwin's accusations, see pp. 187–8 above.

⁸⁵ "... expedit, ut Christi fideles a paganis, qui adhuc gentilis erroris horrore sunt hispidi tamquam spinis, nullatenus opprimi permittantur, sed potenter defendantur ab eis, alias congruis auxiliis con-

to expand the Christian faith is put forward: “*ad ampliandum nomen fidei Christiane, et liberandum proximos de manibus paganorum*”. A plenary indulgence, again explicitly the same as that granted to crusaders going to the East, was granted to all who served for a year in these campaigns, irrespective of whether they had funded themselves or not; those who contributed financially also received an indulgence.⁸⁶

It is evident that Gregory and his chancery had an eye to the letters of his immediate predecessor when composing this letter. The *arenga* is copied from a letter from Honorius III of 18 January 1222 to Saxony calling for a crusade to Livonia.⁸⁷ Since this was the first crusading letter issued by Gregory IX concerning Livonia, the composer must have looked back in the registers of the chancery to the latest letter authorizing a crusade to Livonia, which was precisely Honorius’s letter of 1222.⁸⁸ Part of the *dispositio*, however, is copied almost verbatim from the letters of 17 September 1230 and 23 September 1232 relating to the Teutonic Order’s crusades in Prussia (although it did not contain the exhortation to vindicate the injuries done to the Church).⁸⁹ The indulgence formula resembles those of the letters of September 1230 and January 1232 issued for crusades to Prussia, although this letter, like that of January 1232, does not contain a reference to those who died while in a state of penitence.

The initiative for this new crusade appeal is likely to have come from William of Modena who was at the curia immediately before the conference at Viterbo⁹⁰ and was the recipient, but the idea would certainly have been supported by the other participants in the conference. The crusades were to be directed against pagans threatening

fovendi . . .”, “. . . *in succursum fidelium praedictorum . . .*”: letter of 15 February 1236: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 144, see *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 214, for the dating.

⁸⁶ “. . . *nos, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, tam cruce signatis, quam signandis ad hoc in provincia et diocesis supradictis, qui laborem istum in propriis personis subierint et expensis, et eis, qui in alienis expensis illuc accesserint, ibidem ad minus per unius anni spatium Domino servituri, seu illis, qui ad subventionem praedictorum fidelium de propriis facultatibus ministrabant, illam remissionem peccaminum indulgemus, quae conceditur praedictis modis subvenientibus terrae sanctae*”: letter of 15 February 1236: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 144, see *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 214, for the dating.

⁸⁷ H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* [*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 21] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969), p. 212, note 97. Letter of 18 January 1222: *Epistolae Saeculi XIII e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1, no. 189.

⁸⁸ The letter of 18 January 1222 was entered in the papal registers for Honorius in Lib. VI, letter 181.

⁸⁹ See also pp. 193–4.

⁹⁰ See p. 188.

converts in Livonia, Semgallia, Kurland and Estonia; these lands were, along with Prussia and Finland, William's legate field. The exclusion of Prussia is not surprising: the crusades there were well under way, and Gregory clearly did not plan to intervene with the Order's organization and conduct of them. Nor is the omission of Finland inexplicable: various letters imply that the curia was well aware that campaigns there were undertaken separately, as will be seen below. The new crusade call targeted the lands which were discussed at the conference at Viterbo and the parties assembled at Viterbo would have favoured a new papal call for a crusade which would secure resources for their work. The region in which William was to recruit for this crusade was carefully limited, probably to avoid competition with the Prussian crusades. Gotland, a logistical centre for trade and communications in the region was, however, included in the recruitment zones for both crusading campaigns.

By ordering the legate to take charge of the preaching of the crusade the pope claimed for the curia a more active role than before. The curia appears to have intended William to have a say also in the organization of the crusade itself: *Ne terra vastae* stated that he should exhort the crusaders to work for the faith "*secundum tuum consilium*".⁹¹ This may not only reflect papal doubts about the ability of the bishops of Livonia, who were at Viterbo to answer various serious charges against them, but also a wish to make full use of the papal legate in the region and to ensure a fuller papal control over the campaign.

Ne terra vastae had authorized crusades also in Estonia, but a few years later Gregory issued another crusading letter about the Estonian lands. In 1240 he allowed the Danish archbishop and his suffragans to preach a crusade against those who reportedly threatened the converts in Estonia.⁹² It cannot be decided with complete certainty on whose initiative this crusade came about, but the letter states that the converts were now appealing for help against the incursions from the surrounding pagans.⁹³ This suggests that the initiative came from the Danish Church and king. The latter certainly had an envoy at

⁹¹ Letter of 15 February 1236: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 144, see *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 214, for the dating.

⁹² Letter of 14 December 1240: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 62.

⁹³ "*Cum igitur hii qui de Estonie partibus per dei gratiam ad fidem christiani nominis sunt conuersi/a barbaris circumstantibus multipliciter molestentur; ac per hoc petant sibi a Christi fidelibus subueniri . . .*": letter of 14 December 1240: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 62.

the curia three weeks earlier.⁹⁴ Again, the crusade was presented as a defensive war. The *arenga* described at great length how the infidels persecuted the new members of the Church who were therefore in need of aid. The infidels threatening the lands are not specified, but are only referred to as “surrounding barbarians”, “infidels” and “idol worshippers and rebellious peoples”. Taking the Christian advances in the region into account, these are likely to have been the peoples living to the north-east and east of Estonia.⁹⁵

Participants in the Danish crusade would receive a plenary indulgence for a year’s service, explicitly that granted to crusades serving in aid of the Holy Land, and the Danish bishops were allowed to commute vows from the Holy Land to Estonia.⁹⁶ There appear to have been no restrictions on this permission to commute vows; all *crucesignati*, not merely those too weak or too poor to go to the Holy Land, could fulfil their vows in Estonia. This important permission had not been seen previously in the Baltic crusades. Indulgences were not given to those who supported the crusades financially and no temporal privileges were mentioned. No other letters concerning the authorization of this crusade has survived, so it is not known whether there were any papal instructions to the Danish king.

Gregory supported the Swedish mission in Finland throughout his pontificate, but only one surviving papal letter authorized a call for a crusade there. In December 1237 he replied to a request from the archbishop of Uppsala and allowed him and his suffragans to preach a crusade in Sweden against the Tavastians. The purpose of the new crusade was again a defensive one. It is evident from the papal reply that the archbishop had reported the assaults of the Tavastians on converts and missionaries in great and gory detail. The fact that the Tavastians were reported to be apostates, having been lured back into paganism by neighbouring peoples, added to the injury of the

⁹⁴ See letter of 23 November 1240: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 61.

⁹⁵ For a different view, see E. L. Nazarova, “The Crusades Against Votians and Izhorians in the Thirteenth Century”, in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 183–4, who argues that the Danes may have intended to target the islanders of Ösel.

⁹⁶ “*Nos enim de omnipotentis dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis/tam crucesignatis uestrarum diocesium pro succursu terre sancte uolentibus uota sua in huiusmodi subsidium commutare/quam aliis earundem diocesium qui contra fidei nostre hostes ad partes illas accesserint ibidem saltem per annum in huiusmodi Ihesu Christi seruitio moraturi/illam indulgentiam elargimur/que transeuntibus in terre sancte subsidium est concessa*”: letter of 14 December 1240: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 62.

Church. The crusaders would be rewarded with the same indulgence as those going to the Holy Land, but the letter did not grant indulgences to those who supported this venture financially.⁹⁷

The end of the wars against the Cathar heretics with the Peace of Paris in April 1229 and the conclusion of a ten-year truce between Emperor Frederick II and al-Kamil of Egypt in February 1229 had initially enabled Gregory to focus more attention on the Baltic crusades.⁹⁸ But soon he began to promote crusades in several theaters of war. In 1234 he began planning a crusade to the Holy Land, as already mentioned; he had renewed indulgences for crusades in Spain in 1229, and he authorized the preaching of crusades against heretics in Germany, in Bosnia, and towards the very end of his pontificate against the Mongols.⁹⁹ But none of this affected Gregory's support for the crusades in the Baltic. The crusades in defence of the missions in Livonia, Estonia, Finland and Prussia had now been acknowledged as an integral part of the Church's work to expand the faith. They were crusades on a par with those fought elsewhere on the periphery of Europe and in Europe itself.

Gregory IX, the mendicant orders and the conversion of non-Christians

Gregory's keen support for the Baltic crusades is likely to have been influenced by his ideas about the conversion of non-Christians and the importance he ascribed to this task. Throughout his pontificate Gregory took a strong interest in external mission, dispatching missionaries, mainly friars, to Christians in the Orient, Orthodox Greeks

⁹⁷ “*Nos enim attendentes, quod Deo tanto gravior est defensio fidei, quanto ceteris virtutibus anime fides debet preciosior reputari, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, illam ob id assumptibus signum crucis concedimus veniam peccatorum et ipsos ea volumus immunitate gaudere, quam habituri essent, si in terram sanctam personaliter se transferrent*”: letter of 9 December 1237: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 82. In 1241 Gregory responded to petitions from King Håkon of Norway. Håkon had vowed to go on a crusade to the Holy Land, but the pope now allowed him to commute his vow to a crusade against his pagan neighbours, with the full indulgence (letter of 6 × 8 July 1241: *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, ed. C. C. A. Lange et al., in progress (Oslo, 1847ff.), vol. 1, no. 24).

⁹⁸ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 46.

⁹⁹ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 141 and pp. 166–7; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 56 and p. 60.

and Russians, Muslims in the East, Spain and North Africa, and supporting mission amongst pagans in Hungary.¹⁰⁰

His views on the importance of external mission may have been inspired by the ideas held by the mendicant friars with whom he had close relations. These ties had been forged already in his days as a cardinal and were maintained after he took up the pontificate. In the late 1210s Gregory (then Cardinal Ugolino) had been Dominic's main contact when Dominic very successfully lobbied the curia for support, as we have seen above. He had not only acted as intermediary between Dominic and Pope Honorius III, but had also taken on a more active role to further Dominic's Order in realizing its programme.¹⁰¹ After his election Gregory continued his support for the Order and surrounded himself with its members. From 1230 his confessor and chaplain was Raymond of Penyafort, who retained this position until 1238 when he took over the post as master general of the Dominican Order.¹⁰² Gregory employed Dominican friars not only as crusade preachers, but in a variety of functions and settings, including his dealings with the emperor and other papal business in Italy in the late 1220s.¹⁰³ He was even closer to the brothers of the other mendicant order, the Franciscans, and had endorsed this Order since the late 1210s when he, along with Pope Honorius, had been among Francis' supporters at the curia in the face of opposition from other members of the curia.¹⁰⁴ His admiration for Francis is reflected in his commission of a *vita* of Francis from Thomas of Celano and his canonization of Francis on 16 July 1228.¹⁰⁵ In 1217 he had supported the Franciscans' plans for expansion into Spain, France, Germany, Hungary and the Holy Land, and he had eventually agreed to become the Order's first cardinal-protector.¹⁰⁶ As pope he

¹⁰⁰ Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 44, 49, 72–4, 89–90, 102, 144 and 218.

¹⁰¹ See for instance Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 23–4.

¹⁰² Raymond was keenly interested in mission and in 1234, while he served as Gregory's confessor, wrote to the Dominican prior and the Franciscan minister in Tunis concerning their missionary work in that region (J. V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), *Saracens*, p. 234 and p. 241).

¹⁰³ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 29–31.

¹⁰⁴ See J. M. Powell, "The Papacy and the Early Franciscans", *Franciscan Studies* 36 (1976), *passim*; see also Chapter Three, pp. 166–7.

¹⁰⁵ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 26–9; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 462.

¹⁰⁶ As cardinal-protector, he attended its general chapter in 1220 where decisions were made for a new structure for the Order; he also took part in the process of

had employed Italian Franciscans to propagate anti-imperial propaganda in the Regno in the late 1220s. So, like Honorius, Gregory saw the new mendicant orders as useful tools for implementing papal policy on the reform of the Church. Furthermore, during the conflict with the German emperor at the end of the 1220s the friars sided with the papacy. This would have persuaded Gregory of their loyalty and hence of their usefulness as papal agents in various matters of importance to the curia.¹⁰⁷

Gregory and the friars thus cooperated on a range of affairs and held similar views on several issues, including the strengthening and expansion of the Catholic faith. Gregory's well attested involvement in external mission corresponded with the visions of the mendicant orders whose core idea was the preaching mission to all mankind: not only evangelizing among Christians, but also mission amongst heretics, pagans, and infidels.¹⁰⁸ Francis had surely discussed his vision for the missionary role of his Order with Gregory. One source reports Francis saying to Gregory (then Cardinal Ugolino): "I say to you in truth that the Lord chose and sent the friars for the profit and salvation of the souls of all men in the whole world, and they are to be received not only in the lands of the faithful but also of the infidel."¹⁰⁹

The Muslims were high on the list of missionary targets for both the pope and the friars, and in 1233 Gregory made several tentative overtures in this matter. In February that year he sent a circular letter to the most important Muslim rulers in the lands bordering western Christendom, namely al-Ashraf of Damascus, al-Aziz of Aleppo and al-Kamil of Egypt as well as Kai-Qobad I of Konya, exhorting them and their subjects to convert. The letters were delivered by Franciscan friars who, as the pope explained, would advise the sultans on the new faith. In May the circular was sent to caliph

writing the Order's rule which was finished and received papal authorization in 1223 (K.-V. Selge, "Franz von Assisi und Hugolino von Ostia", in *San Francesco nella Ricerca Storica degli Ultimi Ottanta Anni [Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale LX]* (Todi: L'Accademia Tudertina, 1971), pp. 186ff.; Powell, "The Papacy and the Early Franciscans", p. 254, p. 258 and p. 260; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 21–2).

¹⁰⁷ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁸ K. Esser, *Anfänge und ursprüngliche Zielsetzungen des Ordens der Minderbrüder* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 229–45.

¹⁰⁹ *Scripta Leonis Rufini et Angeli sociorum*, ch. 82, ed. and transl. by R. B. Brooke (Oxford, 1970), pp. 232–3; also in Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 486.

al-Mustansir of Baghdad and the Almohad caliph ar-Rashid. Al-Kamil received a new call to convert in August 1233, this time dispatched with Dominican friars.¹¹⁰

In February 1235 Gregory issued the bull *Cum hora undecima*, the central missionary letter of his pontificate which was repeatedly re-issued by his successors.¹¹¹ It was addressed to the Dominican Friar William of Montferrat and his companions who at the time were working as missionaries in the East.¹¹² There are strong similarities between this letter and Honorius's letters of 1225 concerning the Dominican and Franciscan mission in northern Africa.¹¹³ The tasks and licenses given to the friars were essentially the same: they were to preach, convert and baptize infidels, strengthen the faith of wavering Christians, instruct heretics of the right faith, and absolve excommunicates. Gregory, however, expanded the list of tasks and licences by including some specific permissions, including the right to dispense the newly converted from irregularities.

In *Cum hora undecima* Gregory used the parable of the vineyard (Matthew 20:1–16), just as Honorius had done in his letters of 1225 and indeed in his call of 1221 for a large-scale missionary campaign.¹¹⁴ The image of the landowner hiring labourers for the harvest of his vineyard was a popular (and perhaps obvious) choice for a papal communication to missionaries and had also occasionally been used by Innocent III in his letters concerning both internal and

¹¹⁰ K.-E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels* [*Studi e Testi* 291] (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981), p. 22 and p. 36; Lupprian prints the letters on pp. 120–6.

¹¹¹ Letter of 15 February 1235: *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241)*, ed. A. L. Tăutu (Rome, 1950), no. 210; Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, p. 36. See also Muldoon (p. 36, note 29) for subsequent reissues of this bull up to Benedict XI (1303–4).

¹¹² Letter of 15 February 1235: *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241)*, no. 210; Altaner, *Die Dominikanermmissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 44–6. William was one of Dominic's earliest recruits and a friend of Gregory at whose house he had met Dominic in 1217: see Chapter Three, p. 161.

¹¹³ Letter of 10 June 1225: *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)*, ed. D. Mansilla [*Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana. Sección: Registros* II] (Rome, 1965), no. 562; letter of 7 October 1225: *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. T. Ripoll and A. Bremond, 8 vols (Rome, 1729–40), vol. 1, no. 33, p. 16; see Chapter Three, pp. 168–9.

¹¹⁴ Letter of [February × March 1221]: *DD*, vol. 1.5, no. 192; for a list of recipients, see *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. 1, no. 3209 (there dated to 25 March 1221). See Chapter Three, pp. 162ff.

external mission.¹¹⁵ But Gregory now developed the use of the image further. In the *arena* he elaborated on another aspect of the parable, namely how the landowner rewarded those who had joined in the eleventh hour as plentiful as his first workers, because “The last will be first, and the first last”. This use of the theme of the eleventh hour reflects the apocalyptic tradition prominent with the Franciscans at the time.¹¹⁶ Gregory also added another element: he promised the missionaries a plenary indulgence, “*plenam remissionem peccatorum omnium*”, for their work. The grant of an indulgence to missionaries working among non-Christians was repeated in 1238 in a letter to the Dominican and Franciscan missionaries working in the East. Here Gregory stated that working to convert the infidels through preaching was no less pleasing to Christ than fighting the perfidy of the Saracens by force, and he therefore granted the missionaries the same plenary indulgence as that given to crusaders at the Fourth Lateran Council.¹¹⁷

Gregory thus encouraged external mission and made it clear that to him peaceful conversion and crusades were equally commendable activities. The exact nature of Gregory’s extensive involvement in mission is a matter of dispute which still awaits further studies,¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Innocent used it in a letter concerning Livonia (letter of 19 April 1201: M. Maccarrone, “I Papi e gli inizi della christianizzazione della Livonia”, in *Gli inizi del christianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Storia Ecclesiastica in Occasione dell’VIII Centenario della Chiesa in Livonia* [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche. Atti e Documenti I] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1989), pp. 78–80). Following the example of Bernard of Clairvaux, Innocent repeatedly used the image of the foxes threatening the Lord’s vineyard (Song of Songs 2:15) in letters concerning the heretics in France (see note 149, p. 120 in Chapter Two), but in a letter of 25 March 1199 (*Die Register Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 2, no. 1) he also quoted Matthew (20:1–16). He had also employed this theme from Matthew in his sermons: Sermo X (*In eadem dominica*): *PL*, vol. 217, cols 353–8.

¹¹⁶ Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, p. 36; see also J. D. Ryan, “To Baptize Khans or to Convert Peoples? Missionary Aims in Central Asia in the Fourteenth Century”, in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals* [International Medieval Research 7], ed. G. Armstrong and I. N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 249.

¹¹⁷ This very short letter of 4 March 1238 reads: “*Univeris fratribus minoribus et predicatoribus per terram ultramarinam consti[tutis]. Credentes quod non minus in oculis Redemptoris habeatur acceptum infideles ad fidem divini verbi propositione convertere antequam armis Saracenorum perfidiam expugnare, vobis, qui in terra ultramarina ad conversionem paganorum vel aliorum verbo seu sancte laboratis conversationis exemplo, illam concedimus veniam peccatorum, que in eiusdem terre succursum venientibus, in generali concilio est concessa. Datum Laterani . . .*”: B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 213 and see also his p. 142 and p. 148; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, no. 10525.

¹¹⁸ See for instance Ryan, “To Baptize Khans or to Convert Peoples?”.

but despite his interest in the expansion of Christendom he does not appear to have initiated any new missionary projects. He approached the Muslims rulers to call for their conversion, but he did not follow these exhortations by actual missionary undertakings. His missionary policy appears to be one of keen support for projects initiated and carried out by others. He especially favoured the mendicant orders which now further developed their new role as the central vehicles for the expansion of the Catholic faith. The orders organized and carried out the missionary undertakings, perhaps in consultation with the pope and certainly with papal assistance. While Gregory thus apparently did not follow Honorius as a missionary initiator, he matched Honorius's interest in the conversion of non-Christians and continued and expanded the close cooperation with the friars on this matter which had begun during Honorius's pontificate.

So it is likely that it was Gregory's strong interest in external mission which made him continue Honorius III's line of strong support for the Baltic missions and the crusades in their defence. While this would explain the backing he gave these missions, his actual policy on this matter is likely to have been influenced not only by his contact with the Teutonic Order, but also by Legate William whom he knew from their days as cardinal and vice-chancellor respectively. William had completed his first legatine mission to the Baltic region just as Gregory was elected as Honorius's successor and may have briefed Gregory on the developments in the Baltic when he returned to the curia. These discussions probably led to William's second legatine mission, to Prussia, in late 1228.¹¹⁹ No attempts appear to have been made immediately after Gregory's election to continue the papal involvement in the mission in the other Baltic lands by appointing a new legate to Livonia and Estonia, probably because the curia regarded the Baltic mission as William's purview and awaited his return from Prussia.

The curia and the campaigns against the Russians

During the first decades of the thirteenth century the frontiers of the Christian expansion had moved eastwards, bringing missionaries and

¹¹⁹ Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 147–8.

crusaders in Finland, Estonia and Livonia into confrontation with the Russians. In the Russian lands, different branches of the Riurikid dynasty ruled a series of principalities, including Vladimir, Rostov and Suzdal in the north-east; in the west were Volynia and Galich, bordering Poland and Hungary; and Polotsk, north of Volynia and bordering Lithuania. North of Polotsk, encircling the inner part of the Gulf of Finland, was the republic of Novgorod which encompassed the town of Pskov by Lake Peipus.¹²⁰

The missions in the eastern Baltic constituted a threat to the Russians of Novgorod and Pskov, their tributary peoples and their interests in the region, causing the warfare vividly described in the Chronicles of Novgorod and of Henry of Livonia. The eastward expansion of the Finnish mission had led to confrontation with Novgorod over Karelia and Tavastia,¹²¹ while the Livonian mission occasionally clashed with Novgorod over its expansion into Estonia.¹²²

In 1240 new campaigns were launched in the easternmost part of the Baltic region. The first was organized by the Swedes. Having obtained papal authorization in 1237 for their crusade, they had

¹²⁰ S. Franklin, "Rus'", in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume V: c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 797–8.

¹²¹ The inhabitants of Karelia had been allies and tributaries of Novgorod since the middle of the twelfth century (J. Vahtola, "Karelien, Karelier", in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. N. Angermann et al., 10 vols. (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1977–99), vol. 5, cols 953–4). See also J. Lind, "De russiske kroniker som kilde til kontakter i Østersøområdet", in *Norden og Baltikum. Rapport fra Det 22. nordiske historikermøte*, ed. K. Tønnesson (Oslo: HiFo, 1994), pp. 42–5.

¹²² At first the missionaries in Livonia sought to create peaceful contact with the Russians (see *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, I:3, p. 4, and XV:13, p. 148). But soon the relationship became strained. The Russians of Novgorod and Pskov wished to assert their influence in the Estonian lands, occasionally raiding these lands, but also attempting the conversion of some Estonian and Lettish peoples (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, XI:7, p. 78, XIV:2, p. 108 and XX:3, p. 202; T. S. Noonan, "Medieval Russia, the Mongols, and the West: Novgorod's Relations with the Baltic, 1100–1350", *Mediaeval Studies* XXXVII (1975), p. 324 and p. 335). The pagan Estonians sometimes formed alliances against the Latin Christians with various Russian princes, mostly to no avail (*Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, XXII:1, p. 218, XX:7, p. 207, and XXVII:3, p. 296). Despite the territorial and religious disputes trade between Russians and Latin Christians continued (Franklin, "Rus'", p. 806). See J. H. Lind, "Collaboration and confrontation between East and West on the Baltic Rim as result of the Baltic crusades", in *Der Ostseeraum und Kontinentaleuropa (1100–1600)*, ed. D. Kattinger et al. (Schwerin: Helms Verlag, 2004); A. Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation: Livonia and Russia in the Thirteenth Century", in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), and C. Schmidt, C. "Das Bild der 'Rutheni' bei Heinrich von Lettland", *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 44 (1995).

already undertaken a successful campaign into Tavastia, probably in 1238 or 1239.¹²³ In the summer of 1240 they advanced further east, under the command of Birger Magnusson, the king's brother-in-law, and began erecting a fortress on the River Neva. The Swedish progress was stopped, however, by an army from Novgorod, led by Prince Alexander, who in July 1240 defeated the Swedes in the Battle of Neva. The Swedish campaign was probably only a minor raid and the battle on the River Neva only a minor clash, but the Russian victory was later depicted as an event of great national importance and Prince Alexander was given the sobriquet "Nevskii".¹²⁴

In the same year an army of Latin Christians from Livonia and Estonia undertook a campaign in the lands south of the Lake Peipus. The campaign is described in both *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* and *The Chronicle of Novgorod* which inform us that the army included Teutonic Knights, Germans from Odenpäh, Dorpat (Tartu) and Fellin, vassals of the Danish king from Estonia as well as the prince-ruler of Pskov, Yaroslav Vladimirovich.¹²⁵ The army captured the fortress of Izborsk south-west of Pskov and successfully defended their new possession against an army of Pskovites which tried to recapture the fortress. The Latin Christians then marched on to Pskov itself. They eventually took over the town as the local *posadnik* (or mayor), Tverdilo Ivankovich, surrendered the town to them. The town was to be controlled by two Teutonic Knights and Tverdilo, and from this base the Latin Christians raided the Novgorodian territories.¹²⁶

¹²³ Letter of 9 December 1237: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 82. For the dating of this so-called Second Finnish Crusade, see note 16 on p. 190 above.

¹²⁴ *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno 1240*, pp. 84–5. For a discussion of the sources for the Neva campaign and the size of the Swedish army, see Lind, "Early Russian-Swedish Rivalry", p. 269, pp. 271–8 and pp. 294–5; see also J. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200–1304* (Harlow: Longman, 1983), pp. 103–4. For the role of Bishop Thomas of Finland in the expedition, see J. Lind, "Bishop Thomas in Recent Historiography—Views and Sources", in *Suomen Varhaishistoria. Tornion kongressi 14.–16.6. 1991* [*Studia Historica Septentrionalia* 21] (Rovaniemi: Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys, 1992), especially pp. 307–13.

¹²⁵ *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno 1240*, p. 85; *Livländische Reimchronik*, v. 2065–98, pp. 48–9; Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, p. 104; Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 164.

¹²⁶ *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno 1240*, p. 85; *Livländische Reimchronik*, v. 2065–98, pp. 48–9; Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, p. 104; Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 164. See also Lind, Jensen, Jensen and Bysted, *Danske korstog*, p. 280, who also describe these events, but offer a different interpretation of intentions and motivations.

In the winter of 1240–41, a group of Latin Christians invaded Votia, the lands north-east of Lake Peipus which were tributary to Novgorod. According to the Chronicle of Novgorod, which is our main source for this campaign, the force built a fortress at Kopor'e east of the River Luga, some 20 kilometres inland from the Gulf of Finland, and conquered Tesov.¹²⁷

The Novgorodian counterattack came in 1241. The delayed response was due to internal strife in Novgorod which had led Prince Alexander to depart from Novgorod with his army and court in 1240, soon after his victory by the River Neva against the Swedes. After pleas from Novgorod Alexander returned in 1241 and marched against Kopor'e. Having conquered the fortress and captured the remaining Latin Christians, he executed those local Votians who had cooperated with the invaders.¹²⁸ He then moved on to take Pskov and, having accomplished this with only little difficulty, continued into Estonian-German territory. Part of the Novgorodian army was defeated by the Latin Christians, and Alexander and his army then took up position at Lake Peipus. Here the Latin Christian army met Alexander's forces on 5 April 1242. The Latin Christian army was destroyed and had to accept a peace treaty according to which they had to return all the lands they had conquered during the campaign.¹²⁹ This confrontation—the so-called Battle on the Ice—was later to become hailed as one of the great Russian victories of the Middle Ages and was hence chosen as the subject of one of Sergei Eisenstein's most famous films, the *Alexander Nevsky* (1938). The scale of the battle was, however, most likely exaggerated in the later Russian sources, as was indeed its significance.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno* 1240, p. 85; Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, p. 104. For the term *Nemtsy*, used to describe the ethnicity of these forces, see J. H. Lind, "Scandinavian Nemtsy and Repaganized Russians. The Expansion of the Latin West During the Baltic Crusades and its Confessional Repercussions", in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest: Central European University, 2001), pp. 486ff.

¹²⁸ *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno* 1240, p. 85; Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, p. 105.

¹²⁹ *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno* 1242, pp. 86–7; Lind, Jensen, Jensen and Bysted, *Danske korstog*, p. 283; Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, p. 105. The Chronicle of Novgorod here reports far more casualties among the Latin Christians than The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle does (*Livländische Reimchronik*, v. 2265–98, pp. 48–9); see also Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, pp. 105–6.

¹³⁰ Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, pp. 105–6.

The almost simultaneous launch of these campaigns in the eastern-most part of the Baltic region have led some historians to argue that they were all part of a co-ordinated campaign against Russia. In 1929 the Finnish historian G. A. Donner argued that the idea for a joint campaign originated in the papal curia and was planned and organized by Legate William of Modena. The planning had supposedly taken place during the negotiations between the Teutonic Order and the Danish king in the late spring of 1238 which resulted in the Treaty of Stensby. Later William, the Knights and the Danes had included the Swedes in their plans.¹³¹ This interpretation was later taken up by Russian historians, most notably perhaps I. P. Shaskol'skii, as well as several western European historians.¹³²

However, more recently historians have dismissed the suggestion of a joint attack and of a papal 'master-plan'. It has been pointed out that there is no decisive evidence to support the idea of coordination of action between the Swedes, the Germans and the Danes, and some scholars therefore regard the Swedish attack on the River Neva as merely a continuation of the Russo-Swedish rivalry for control over Finland and Karelia.¹³³ As for the involvement of the curia and Legate William in the planning of the campaigns, Anti Selart has—along with many others—pointed out that when discussing the distribution of conquests, the Treaty of Stensby only refers to lands conquered from pagans. Furthermore, Selart stresses, none of the

¹³¹ Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 222–29. For the series of older works which inspired this view, see *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, p. 223, note 4. For the Treaty of Stensby, see p. 188 above.

¹³² Unfortunately unable to read Russian, I rely on others for the summary of the views of I. P. Shaskol'skii: see Lind, "Early Russian-Swedish Rivalry", p. 270; Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 162; Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, pp. 103–6; as well as H. E. Ellersieck's review of Shaskol'skii's *Bor'ba Rusi protiv krestonosnoi agressii na beregakh Baltiki v XII–XIII vv* [*The Struggle of Rus Against Crusader Aggression on the Shores of the Baltic in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*] (Leningrad: Nauka, 1978) in *The American Historical Review* 86:2 (1981), pp. 425. A similar interpretation is found in, among others, C. Goehrke, "Gross-Novgorod und Pskov/Pleskau", in *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands. Band 1: Bis 1613. Von der Kiever Reichsbildung bis zum Moskauer Zartum*, ed. M. Hellmann, G. Schramm, and K. Zernack (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981), pp. 450–451; E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd edition (London: Penguin, 1997), pp. 133ff. Lind, Jensen, and Bysted (*Danske korstog*, pp. 273ff.) argue that the campaign was orchestrated by Pope Gregory IX.

¹³³ See for instance Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, p. 104, and Nazarova, "The Crusades Against Volhynians and Izhorians", p. 183.

papal bulls of 1240–43 mention warfare against the Russians. They only refer to the fight against non-Christians and to mission among pagans.¹³⁴ Selart suggests that the campaigns should be understood as separate enterprises, distinct in character, motive and political backing. The campaigns to the River Neva and into Votia were, in Selart's analysis, crusades aiming at expanding the Catholic Church, while the campaign against Izborsk and Pskov was a purely political undertaking which had nothing to do with conversion of pagans.¹³⁵

A key element in understanding the campaign to Izborsk and Pskov is, according to Selart, the co-operation between the exiled Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich of Pskov and the men from the bishopric of Dorpat. Yaroslav appears to have spent his exile in that bishopric, perhaps a natural choice since he was related to its bishop. From his exile he had already once before, in 1233, attacked Izborsk in alliance with the forces of the Dorpat bishop.¹³⁶ It appears that the main purpose of the 1240-campaign was to gain control over Pskov and to install members of the Teutonic Order as bailiffs there. Selart suggests that Yaroslav may have promised the bishop of Dorpat and the Teutonic Knights all or some of his lands in return for their assistance in the conquest of Pskov.¹³⁷

As for the two campaigns to the River Neva and into Votia, there were still pagans living in the lands between Novgorod and Pskov and the new Latin Christian settlements in Finland, Livonia and Estonia.¹³⁸ The Christian powers were well aware of the existence of these pagan peoples, as evidenced by a treaty concluded in the spring of 1241 in which Bishop Henry of Ösel-Wiek and the Teutonic Order made arrangements for the future of the conquered lands. The treaty discussed the issue of jurisdiction in the lands "*inter Estoniam iam conversam et Rutiam, in terris videlicet Watlande, Nouwe, Ingriae et Carelae, de quibus spes erat conversionis ad fidem Christi*", showing that the bishop

¹³⁴ Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 162. See also Nazarova, "The Crusades Against Votians and Izhorians", pp. 183–4.

¹³⁵ Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 162, p. 164 and pp. 174–6. The clause in the Treaty of Stensby about the division of conquered territory may have acted as preparation for the crusade to Votia, Selart adds ("Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 162).

¹³⁶ Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 160 and p. 164.

¹³⁷ Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 165.

¹³⁸ Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 162; Nazarova, "The Crusades Against Votians and Izhorians", pp. 177–9.

and the knights regarded the lands as pagan at the time.¹³⁹ It was these pagan peoples who were targeted in the crusades of the early 1240s. The wording of the treaty of 1241 also suggests that the issuers did not regard the lands as being part of Russia, although the issuers probably knew that the lands were tributary to Novgorod.¹⁴⁰ Selart argues that while these crusades were not waged in an attempt to conquer Russia, they did however constitute an attack on the territory and interest of Novgorod and were thus in effect a declaration of war against Novgorod,¹⁴¹ inevitably leading to Novgorodian retaliation. Selart's analysis is compelling, and his conclusion that the campaigns to the River Neva and into Votia were not an attempt to subjugate Novgorod is shared by this author. The campaigns were an attempt to conquer and convert some of the lands adjacent to the Latin Christian territory in Estonia and Livonia—to expand the sphere of Latin Christian influence. If such expansion was to be achieved, it was inevitable that the interests of Novgorod would be harmed. It should be noted that already much of the previous Latin Christian expansion in the region had been undertaken at the expense of Novgorod, and that the idea of nibbling away at the peripheral lands under Novgorodian rule and in the Novgorodian sphere of influence thus not was a new feature in the policies of the Latin Christian powers in the region.¹⁴²

In the interpretation proposed here, there was no coordinated campaign against the Russians of Novgorod. Nor does there seem to have been a papal 'master-plan' for a joint campaign against the Orthodox Russians. It could be added that William of Modena had not been at the curia since the spring of 1236¹⁴³ and could thus not have had any detailed policy discussions with the pope. Nor is there any suggestion that the curia intended any of the powers to go

¹³⁹ Henry was to have the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in these lands, while the Order was to assume secular lordship: letter of 13 April 1241: *LEC*, vol. 3, no. 169a (also in *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 84). See also Nazarova, "The Crusades Against Votians and Izhorians", p. 187, and Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 164.

¹⁴⁰ Letter of 13 April 1241: *LEC*, vol. 3, no. 169a (also in *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 84).

¹⁴¹ Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 163 and p. 176.

¹⁴² See for instance Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, XXV:3–6, pp. 272–8; Nazarova, "The Crusades Against Votians and Izhorians", pp. 180–1; Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 152 and pp. 155–6; Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, p. 52.

¹⁴³ Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 194ff.

against Novgorod on their own. As mentioned above, none of the papal letters issued to the Latin Christian powers mention warfare against the Orthodox Russians. They only refer to defensive warfare against the pagans reportedly threatening the Christians in Estonia and Finland. The crusading bull issued to the Danish Church in December 1240 thus spoke of a crusade against the pagans, “*barbaris circumstantibus*” and “*gentes idolatras et populum murmurantem*”.¹⁴⁴

Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that the curia would have taken a decidedly anti-Russian stand by the end of the 1230s. The curial policy towards the Russians in the first half of the 1230s included both confrontational and appeasing elements. The conflict between Russians and Latin Christians in Livonia and Estonia had been brought to the curia’s attention in 1222 when Bishop Albert of Livonia complained that Russians living in Livonia corrupted the newly converted there with their Orthodox rites and schismatic teaching; the pope therefore ordered the Latin Christians in Livonia to repress and hinder Orthodox practice.¹⁴⁵ Soon, however, the curia began to hope for more peaceful relations. In 1225 Legate William met a Russian delegation in Riga.¹⁴⁶ When he returned to the curia, he reported this encounter to Honorius and appears to have suggested that the Russians were now ready for a rapprochement with the Roman Church. The fall of Constantinople, and with it the Byzantine Empire, in 1204 had strengthened the hopes of the leaders of Latin Christendom for a unification of the two Churches. The curia may have hoped that the interest from Russian princes conveyed by the legate signified the beginning of their submission to the Roman Church. Honorius now issued a letter to “all the kings of Russia”, expressing his joy that they had declared to William an interest in receiving a papal legate and in being instructed in “*sana doctrina*”, having declared themselves willing “*omnes errores penitus abnegare*”.¹⁴⁷ The hope of forming a union with the Russian princes continued in the pontificate of Gregory IX. A report from the bishop

¹⁴⁴ Letter of 14 December 1240: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 62.

¹⁴⁵ Letter of 8 February 1222: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 55.

¹⁴⁶ As reported by Henry of Livonia: *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* XXIX:4, p. 320.

¹⁴⁷ Letter of 17 January 1227: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 95. Honorius did, however, gather from William’s reports that the Russians remained a threat to the mission in the region; a papal letter issued the same day (letter of 17 January 1227: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 94) granting the inhabitants of Visby on Gotland papal protection mentions the threat against the converts from pagans and Russians.

of Prussia led Gregory in 1231 to implore “the king of Russia” to abandon the Greek and Russian rites in favour of Latin Christian ones and to pledge obedience to Rome.¹⁴⁸

The curia also worked for the Russians’ conversion to Latin Christianity in other ways. Polish Dominicans began missionary work in Russia in 1222 and established a convent at Kiev, the ecclesiastical centre of the Russian principalities and the home of their metropolitan. The curia supported this mission through various letters—several were issued in 1233–4—and in 1232 or 1233 it appointed a bishop for Russia.¹⁴⁹ Relations between the curia and the various Russian principalities remained ambivalent however. From Sweden and Finland came news in 1229 of the difficulties met by the mission in Finland as the new converts there reportedly were attacked by the Russians.¹⁵⁰ In November 1232, after new reports, Gregory exhorted the Sword-Brothers of Livonia to come to the rescue of the converts in Finland and defend this territory against the infidel Russians in consultation with the bishop of Finland.¹⁵¹ From its legate in Livonia and Estonia the curia received complaints that the local Christian powers allied themselves with the Russians to oppose his work: in the papal letter of November 1234 listing Baldwin’s accusations against the bishop and inhabitants of Riga and the Sword-Brothers, the Sword-Brothers were accused of having allied themselves with the “heretic” Russians and the neighbouring pagans against Baldwin.¹⁵² The curial policy on Russia in the first years of Gregory’s pontificate thus included attempts at converting Russian princes through peaceful submission, support to a mission amongst Orthodox Christians and exhortations to fight those Russians who were perceived to be a threat to the Latin Christian missions. This diversity

¹⁴⁸ Letter of 18 July 1231: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 86; Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, p. 215.

¹⁴⁹ Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 215–18.

¹⁵⁰ Letter of 23 January 1229: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 74; letter of 27 January 1229: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 75; letter of 27 January 1229: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 76.

¹⁵¹ Letter of 24 November 1232: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 128.

¹⁵² Letter of [c. 20 November] 1234: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 199, § 25. The alliances had been forged despite the fact that Gregory in 1232 (letter of 3 February 1232: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 121) had forbidden the Christians in Baldwin’s legatine field to negotiate peace and collect tributes from the pagans and Russians without Baldwin’s consent. Such treaties were apparently allowed if the legate was consulted and gave his assent, and the letter thus did not prohibit all contact between the Christian powers and the Russians.

reflects not only that 'Russia' consisted of a series of principalities with different policies and different contacts with Latin Christendom, but also that the curial policy was still a reactive one in which Rome simply responded to reports and requests from those local agents who came into contact, peaceful or belligerent, with the Russians. There is no evidence to suggest that the papal attitude towards the orthodox Russians had changed by the late 1230s.

Innocent IV and the Prussian crusades

Continuing the policy of his two immediate predecessors, Pope Innocent IV gave the Baltic crusades his full backing. He granted the Teutonic Order a series of privileges and licenses, but the papal favour bestowed upon the Order did not affect the papal support for the royal Scandinavian crusade in the region.

A new element had now been added to the papal policy considerations on the situation in the Baltic region, as the threat of Mongol attacks—which already had led Pope Gregory IX to proclaim a crusade against the Mongols, as we have seen—continued to alarm the curia. The Mongols constituted a threat on two fronts of Christendom, in eastern Europe and in Syria. Their advance on the Russian principalities had gained momentum in the second half of the 1230s when they had taken a series of territories and towns, including Kiev in December 1240. They then moved further west, raiding parts of Poland and Hungary and defeating two large Christian armies in April 1241 before withdrawing from eastern Europe in 1242.¹⁵³ While Asia Minor and the Middle East suffered Mongol attacks later in the 1240s, leading the Selchükid sultanate of Rum to become a Mongol client state after 1243, Europe had a respite until the late 1250s.¹⁵⁴ But the fear that the Mongols would resume their attacks remained strong. In 1243 Innocent IV confirmed Gregory's call for a crusade against them, and in 1249 he allowed those who had taken a vow to go on a crusade in aid of the Holy Land to commute

¹⁵³ Franklin, "Rus'", pp. 799–800; P. Jackson, "The Mongols and Europe", in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume V: c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 705–7 (who also here discusses the reasons for the Mongol evacuation). The Mongols managed to impose their 'overlordship' on all of the main Rurikid princes in a process which was largely completed by the second half of the 1240s (Franklin, "Rus'", pp. 801–3).

¹⁵⁴ Jackson, "The Mongols and Europe", pp. 708–10.

those vows to go against the Mongols instead.¹⁵⁵ He also sent several embassies to them, exhorting them to cease their attacks and to accept the Christian faith.¹⁵⁶ In light of this the Christian powers and communities in the Baltic region gained added importance as a bulwark on the eastern periphery of Latin Christendom against invading Mongols.

Innocent IV and the Teutonic Order's crusades in Prussia and Livonia

During Innocent IV's pontificate the Teutonic Order used its generally good relations with the papacy to obtain an abundance of letters endorsing its work in the Baltic region. Here the only key developments in the papal policy towards the Knights will be outlined.

In the early 1240s the Teutonic Order struggled with a Prussian rebellion and the threat from the neighbouring Lithuanians. In the face of these difficulties the Order turned to the papacy. In the summer of 1243, shortly after the election of Pope Innocent in late June, the Order's representatives at the curia secured his support for its Baltic campaigns and obtained his confirmation of its possessions here.¹⁵⁷ Soon afterwards the Knights requested a papal bull authorizing new crusades in Livonia and Prussia. The ensuing papal bull was *Qui iustis causis* of 23 September 1243. It was later repeatedly reissued by Innocent and his successor with minor alterations and additions, for example in October 1243, March 1256, August 1256, and August 1257.¹⁵⁸ Its importance is also reflected in the fact that—unlike many other papal bulls—it was soon copied into the Order's bullarium.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 165.

¹⁵⁶ Jackson, "The Mongols and Europe", pp. 706–7. See also J. A. Boyle, "The last Barbarian Invaders: the Impact of the Mongol Conquests upon East and West", *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society* 112 (1970). Reprinted with original pagination in his *The Mongol World Empire 1206–1370* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1977), pp. 7ff.

¹⁵⁷ Innocent IV thus confirmed the Treaty of Stensby of 1238 between the Order and the Danish king: letter of 24 September 1243: *DD*, vol. 1:7, no. 113. See also letter of 30 July 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 144 (which is discussed below on p. 214).

¹⁵⁸ Letter of 7 October 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 151; letter of 11 March 1256: *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, no. 65, pp. 299–300; letter of 21 August 1256: *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, no. 119, pp. 316–17; letter of 11 August 1257: *PUB*, vol. 1.2, no. 30.

¹⁵⁹ Ehlers, "Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 33; H. E. Mayer, "Novae editionis praefatio", in *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici*, ed. E. Strehle and H. E. Mayer, 2nd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), *passim*.

In *Qui iustis causis* Innocent ordered the provincial priors of the Dominican provinces of Germany, Dacia and Poland to let their friars preach crusades in aid of the newly converted in Livonia and Prussia.¹⁶⁰ The defence of the new converts was still put forward as the purpose of these crusades, although the pope also expressed hopes for the expansion of the faith.¹⁶¹ The letter partly used Pope Gregory IX's letters concerning the Baltic crusades as a template. Part of the *dispositio* was copied practically verbatim from Gregory's letters of 17 September 1230 and 23 September 1232 which authorized crusades in Prussia and which also had been used in February 1236 when Gregory had authorized a crusade in Livonia and Estonia.¹⁶²

It is not surprising that Pope Innocent chose to use these when shortly after his election he was called upon to issue new letters concerning these matters. The letters of 1230 and 1232 had been issued while he, as Sinibaldo Fieschi, had been vice-chancellor of the papal chancery. Sinibaldo may already have been secretary to Gregory in his days as Cardinal Ugolino. When Ugolino became Pope Gregory, Sinibaldo found employment in the papal chancery, eventually rising to the position of vice-chancellor in 1228; he then served as rector of the March of Ancona from February 1235 to December 1240.¹⁶³ Innocent therefore had a close knowledge of the letters issued to the Teutonic Order in 1230 and 1232 and may even have influenced their final form.

In *Qui iustis causis* Innocent stated that crusaders who served a year in the Baltic would receive the same plenary indulgence as that granted to crusaders going to the Holy Land, irrespective of how they were financed. Those who sent others in their place also received a plenary indulgence, just as those who made other financial contributions to these crusades also received an indulgence. Unlike

¹⁶⁰ Letter of 23 September 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 146.

¹⁶¹ “. . . spes sit, quod magis ac magis sui nominis gloria pretendatur, si plantationi sue partium earundem favorem, quem in ipso possumus, impendentes, oportunitum illi per devotos ecclesie subsidium procuremus . . .”: letter of 23 September 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 146.

¹⁶² Letter of 23 September 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 146; letter of 17 September 1230: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 81; letter of 23 January 1232: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 87; letter of 15 February 1236: *LEC*, vol. I, no. 144, see *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 214, for the dating.

¹⁶³ J. E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* [*Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* third series, 21] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 40–1.

Gregory's letters of 1230, 1232 and 1236, however, the crusaders and their *familiae* and property were now taken under papal protection. No restrictions on recruitment were included, but the region from which crusaders were to come was carefully defined. Innocent wished crusaders to be recruited from the church provinces of Magdeburg and Hamburg-Bremen, the dioceses of Regensburg, Passau, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, and Verden, as well as the kingdoms of Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Poland, and from Gotland and Pomerania. The crusades were to be led by the Teutonic Knights, and the preachers were informed that they must admonish the crusaders to fight "*secundum fratrum consilia*". Innocent also made detailed arrangements for redemption of vows. Those who had taken the cross to the Baltic only to find that they were physically or financially unable to fulfil their promise could redeem their vows by paying compensation according to their ability, "*iuxta proprias facultates*"; the income from such redemptions should fall to the Order to be used on their campaigns. The friars conducting the preaching were allowed to grant their audiences a twenty-day indulgence.¹⁶⁴

The recruitment for the Teutonic Order's crusades in Prussia and Livonia

In 1245 the Order again applied for papal assistance. Its petitions were probably supported by William of Modena, who had been promoted to cardinal-bishop of Sabina in May 1244 and now was at the curia after having completed his third legation to the Baltic.¹⁶⁵ The Order obtained two letters of great importance for the preaching and recruitment for its campaigns. On 7 May it received permission to recruit for Prussia one hundred German knights with entourages solely on the Order's exhortation and thus without public preaching.¹⁶⁶ In like manner, but on a grander scale, was a letter of 13 August. Innocent here allowed the Order to recruit crusaders

¹⁶⁴ Letter of 23 September 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 146.

¹⁶⁵ Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 296–8. Most of the crusading letters issued to the Order from 1245 onwards concerned crusades not only in Prussia and Livonia, but also in Kurland. See Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 290–2, for a description of these events and the Order's collusion with William in its successful attempt to gain influence over Kurland at the expense of the local bishops.

¹⁶⁶ Letter of 7 May 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 167. The crusaders would receive a plenary indulgence like that granted crusaders going to the Holy Land.

from Germany without public preaching, “*sine predicatione publica*”. This permission was explicitly given after petitions from the Order’s master.¹⁶⁷ The Order was not to grant indulgences; this task was entrusted to the archbishop of Mainz who should give such crusaders the same indulgence as that enjoyed by crusaders serving in the Holy Land.¹⁶⁸ There was no time limit on this permission. The pope thus granted the Order the right to recruit crusaders irrespective of whether a specific papal authorization had been issued. Only a few years earlier, in 1234, Gregory IX had emphasised that preaching for crusades to the Baltic had to be authorized by the pope, when he complained that the bishop of Riga had preached the cross in Germany “as if he had been empowered by the Apostolic See”.¹⁶⁹ Now Innocent gave the Teutonic Order a free rein to organize crusades as it wished and he thus allowed for a perpetual crusade in Prussia, a remarkable concession in light of his usual emphasis on his prerogative with respect to indulgences.¹⁷⁰ In effect he relinquished papal control over the recruitment for the Prussian crusades to the Teutonic Order, although the Order often requested papal bulls authorizing new crusades in the following decades.

Innocent worked hard to juggle conflicting demands for crusades. As just mentioned, he had confirmed Gregory’s crusade against the Mongols in 1243.¹⁷¹ A crusade in aid of the Holy Land was proclaimed in 1245. In the summer of 1244 Jerusalem had fallen to the Khwarizmian Turks and in October of that year an Egyptian army had defeated the Frankish army near Gaza.¹⁷² In December King Louis IX of France vowed to go on crusade to the Holy Land and in February 1245 Innocent ordered the Franciscans to preach for Louis’s crusade; a papal bull, *Terra Sancta*, had been issued the previous month.¹⁷³ At the Council of Lyons in the summer of 1245

¹⁶⁷ “. . . dil. fil. . . . magister hosp. s. Marie Theuton. Jerosol. humiliter petebat a nobis . . .”: letter of 13 August 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 168.

¹⁶⁸ Letter of 13 August 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 168.

¹⁶⁹ Letter of [c. 20 November] 1234: *DD*, vol. 1.6, no. 199, § 3.

¹⁷⁰ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 163.

¹⁷¹ Letter of 21 July 1243: *Les Registres d’Innocent IV*, ed. É. Berger [*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome*, Ser. 2], 3 vols (Paris, 1884–1921), no. 30; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 165.

¹⁷² J. Richard, *Saint Louis. Crusader King of France*, 2nd edition, rev. S. Lloyd, transl. J. Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 97.

¹⁷³ Letter of 23 January 1245: *Foedera, Conventiones, Littere, et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliæ et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates*, ed. T. Rymer et al., 4 vols (London, 1816–69), vol. 1.1, pp. 148–9; Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 94.

the encyclical *Afflicti corde* ordered that there should be preaching for the crusade all over Europe, organized by Cardinal Eudes of Châteauroux.¹⁷⁴ During recruitment for this crusade, Innocent proclaimed a crusade against Emperor Frederick. As mentioned earlier, the good relations between pope and emperor established at San Germano in July 1230 had broken down in the mid-1230s, and Gregory had excommunicated Frederick in March 1239.¹⁷⁵ Negotiations between Innocent and Frederick in March 1244 had broken down just as an agreement was about to be made, and Innocent had fled to Lyons. On 17 July 1245 the Council of Lyons formally agreed to excommunicate and depose Frederick.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps hoping that Frederick would yield, and waiting for the appointment of a German anti-king, Innocent did not immediately follow his deposition of Frederick with a crusade. It was proclaimed in 1246 after the election in Germany in May 1246 of Landgrave Henry Raspe of Thuringia as anti-king, and in late June 1246 Innocent ordered the archbishop of Mainz and his bishops to preach for the anti-imperial crusade.¹⁷⁷ In July 1246 he ordered Legate Eudes to order preachers recruiting in some parts of the Empire for the crusade to the Holy Land to shift to preaching for the anti-imperial crusade instead.¹⁷⁸ The Baltic crusades may have suffered from the competing recruitment campaigns for the crusades against Frederick II and those to the East, as these were both preached in their core recruitment regions. German crusaders were generally expected to join either the anti-imperial crusade or the Baltic crusades, but in November 1246 Legate Eudes was ordered to organize preaching for Louis's crusade to the Holy

¹⁷⁴ *Afflicti corde: Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo et al. (Basel, 1962), pp. 273–7; Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 98; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 62.

¹⁷⁵ See p. 203 above.

¹⁷⁶ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 158; M. Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy. The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the final loss of Jerusalem to the fall of Acre 1244–1291* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), p. 24; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, pp. 566–7.

¹⁷⁷ Henry died in February 1247 and William of Holland was chosen in his stead (Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, p. 74; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 64–5). Innocent revived the anti-Hohenstaufen crusade in 1251 (Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 567; Toch, “Welfs, Hohenstaufen and Habsburgs”, pp. 390–1). Letter of 27 June 1246: *Les Registres d’Innocent IV*, no. 1993; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 64.

¹⁷⁸ Letter of 5 July 1246: *Les Registres d’Innocent IV*, no. 2935. For Innocent's juggling of the preaching for these two crusades, see letter of [28 July × 9 August] 1246: *Les Registres d’Innocent IV*, no. 2054; letter of 29 October 1247: *Les Registres d’Innocent IV*, no. 3384; letter of 17 November 1247: *Les Registres d’Innocent IV*, no. 4070; Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, pp. 106ff., and Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 64–7.

Land in Germany and Denmark as well.¹⁷⁹ Recruitment for the anti-imperial crusade was being organized in Germany, Denmark, and Poland in 1247.¹⁸⁰ However, shortly after the Council of Lyons, in a letter of 13 September 1245 addressed to all clerics, Innocent exhorted them to preach crusades to Prussia and Livonia with the same zeal as crusades to the Holy Land.¹⁸¹ This presumably followed prompting from the Teutonic Order which, after the debates at the Council about renewed crusades to the Holy Land, would have feared diminished interest in their ventures.

The organization of the crusades in Prussia and Livonia

In 1244 the curia was planning yet another legatine mission in the Baltic region for William of Sabina (formerly of Modena). Letters were issued for his departure, but Pope Innocent eventually decided that William was indispensable at the curia, perhaps because of the upcoming Council of Lyons. Instead Innocent dispatched a nuncio, William's chaplain, Henry, who a few months later was replaced by the abbot of Mezzano.¹⁸²

These short-term measures were soon amended. Finding the region ready to receive a metropolitan, the curia now abandoned its previous system of securing papal representation through papal legates and nuncios.¹⁸³ It chose Albert Suerbeer as the region's first archbishop.

¹⁷⁹ Letter of 6 November 1246: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 2229; Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, p. 107; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, pp. 62–3 and p. 72.

¹⁸⁰ Letter of 18 March 1247: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 2964; Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 65.

¹⁸¹ “*Licet pro subsidio terre sancte predicari ubique mandaverimus verbum crucis, tamen nostre intencionis existit, ut pro Liuonie ac Pruscie negotio in locis suis, prout in aliis litteris nostris apparet, crux nichilominus predicetur. Quocirca discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, cum utrumque sit necessarium, utrique studiose ac efficaciter verbo et opere insistatis*”: letter of 13 September 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 169.

¹⁸² Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, p. 280, p. 283 and pp. 286–8. William had finished his third legation to the region in 1242, but was appointed for a fourth legation to the Baltic in July 1244 (letter of 15 July 1244: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 157 (also in *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 169)). The decision to keep William at the curia may be due to the fact that only a small number of cardinals had followed the pope into exile, leaving him severely understaffed (Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, p. 288). For the dispatch of Henry, see letter of 1 February 1245: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, no. 11531.

¹⁸³ William of Modena had obtained a permission to create a metropolitan see in November 1225, but had chosen not to use it: see Chapter Three, p. 171 and p. 182.

He had first shown an interest in the affairs of the Baltic Church in 1230 when after the death of Bishop Albert of Buxhövdén he had been the candidate of Archbishop Gerhard II of Bremen for the see at Riga. Albert Suerbeer had not succeeded in obtaining the see, as the papal legate, Baldwin, had decided the disputed election in favour of Nicholas, the candidate put forward by the Riga chapter.¹⁸⁴ But now, in 1246, more than a decade later, Albert Suerbeer was made archbishop of Prussia and metropolitan for Livonia and Estonia.¹⁸⁵ Shortly afterwards he was also appointed legate for these lands as well as for Holstein, Gotland and the island of Rügen. However, unlike the previous legate in the region, William of Modena, he was not appointed legate for Finland which was subjected to the Swedish archbishop.¹⁸⁶ Albert Suerbeer was thus not to coordinate all efforts in the missionary lands in the eastern Baltic region, but only those south of the Gulf of Finland.

Soon, however, a new region was added to Albert's legatine field. Referring to reports that some Russians wished to join the Latin Church, Pope Innocent appointed Albert legate for the Russian lands, "*in partibus Russiae*", in May 1246 and gave him license to appointment an unspecified number of bishops there.¹⁸⁷ Innocent clearly hoped to win the Russian princes for the Latin faith, but he may also have hoped that an alliance with the Russian princes would strengthen the eastern frontier of Christendom against the Mongols.¹⁸⁸ The curia therefore tried to forge closer ties to Prince Daniel of Galich-Volynia through the activities of Legate Albert. Albert initially appears to have reported some success in this endeavour, to the encouragement of the curia. But little progress was in fact made, and by the middle of the 1250s the curia seems to have abandoned its plans.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ See p. 187 above.

¹⁸⁵ Letter of 10 January 1246: *LEC*, vol. 1, n. 188 (here dated to 9 January 1246). The see of Reval remained subject to the Danish archbishop in Lund.

¹⁸⁶ Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 414–19; Finland had most recently been part of William's legatine field in 1244: letter of 15 July 1244: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 169

¹⁸⁷ Letters of 3 May 1246: *LEC*, vol. 1, nos 190 and 191.

¹⁸⁸ Letter of 7 September 1247: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 195; letter of 15 September 1248: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 4129; M. Hellmann, *Das Lettenland im Mittelalter. Studien zur ostbaltischen Frühzeit und lettischen Stammesgeschichte, insbesondere Lettgallens* [*Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas* 1] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1954), pp. 175–6. See also Jackson, "The Mongols and Europe", pp. 711–12.

¹⁸⁹ Hellmann, *Das Lettenland im Mittelalter*, pp. 175–77 and p. 189; Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", p. 166; letter of 15 September 1248: *Les Registres*

In Prussia the Teutonic Knights had already gained sole control over the campaigns. Very soon after Pope Innocent's election they had taken steps to outmanoeuvre Bishop Christian, their old rival to the leadership of the Prussian mission. Christian had, as mentioned before, been taken prisoner by the Prussians in 1233. After his release in 1238 he had tried to regain his position as leader of the Prussian mission and had filed complaints with the curia against the Order. In the summer of 1243, just a month after his coronation, Innocent had issued a letter to Bishop Christian and offered him a choice between four newly created bishoprics in Prussia. This, of course, was effectively a demotion and had been orchestrated by the Order: on the back of the letter is the proctor mark "*Sancta + Maria*", clearly showing that this letter had been brought about by the Order.¹⁹⁰ Christian had apparently refused to accept this arrangement; a letter issued a couple of years later, in January 1245, ordered him to inform the curia of his chosen see, but he had died before this letter reached him.¹⁹¹

Innocent not only supported the Knights' campaigns and favoured the Order at the expense of Bishop Christian; he also gave the Order a leading role in the crusades against the Mongols. In April 1241 the Teutonic Knights had taken part in the battle against these invaders at Liegnitz (Legnica) where the Christian army, commanded by Duke Henry II of Lower Silesia, had been defeated.¹⁹² In early 1248 Pope Innocent issued letters to the Order as well as to Daniel of Galich-Volynia and Alexander of Suzdal, asking the Russian princes to inform the Teutonic Order of any Mongol movements towards the west, so that the Knights could organize resistance and assist the Russian princes. Innocent also allowed the Teutonic Order to grant plenary indulgences to all crusaders taking up the fight against the

d'Innocent IV, no. 4129. Also the Franciscan Giovanni de Pian Carpini visited Daniel, in 1245 on his way to the Mongols (Jackson, "The Mongols and Europe", pp. 711–12). In 1254 Daniel received a crown from the pope (Franklin, "Rus", p. 802).

¹⁹⁰ Letter of 30 July 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 144; K. Forstreuter, *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie. 1: Die Geschichte der Generalprokuratoren von den Anfängen bis 1403* [Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung 12] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), p. 51.

¹⁹¹ Letter of 16 January 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 159.

¹⁹² D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 139; Jackson, "The Mongols and Europe", p. 706.

Mongols. The pope thus ascribed to the Order a great role in the defence of Latin Christendom in north-east Europe.¹⁹³

The papal favour enjoyed by the Teutonic Order was also seen in the curia's stand on a different matter. Soon after his appointment Archbishop Albert Suerbeer became embroiled in a series of disputes with the Teutonic Knights in Prussia concerning, among other things, the revenue from the newly converted lands and from the redemption of crusade vows.¹⁹⁴ The curia appointed a group of local bishops to mediate in the conflict, but to no avail. The matter was eventually heard at the curia in the spring of 1250, and in the autumn of that year Albert was stripped of his legatine authority. The following year an agreement was finally reached between Albert and the Order.¹⁹⁵ Relations between the Teutonic Knights and Albert did not, however, improve, and in 1253, after the death of Bishop Nicholas of Riga, the metropolitan see was moved from Prussia to Riga. Albert was made archbishop of Riga and metropolitan for Livonia and Prussia. While the curia thus allowed Albert to retain his status as metropolitan, the overall outcome of the dispute favoured the Order.¹⁹⁶ This result may partly have been shaped by the views of William of Sabina who still exerted great influence over the Baltic affairs at the curia. Due to his disputes with the Teutonic Knights and other powers in the region, Archbishop Albert had not succeeded in unifying and coordinating the forces working for the conquest and conversion south of the Gulf of Finland.

Innocent did not, however, offer the Order unconditional support in all affairs. This is illustrated by the lengthy conflict between the Order and the Pomerelian Duke Swietopolk of Danzig who had allied himself with the Prussians against the Order. In February 1245 Innocent dispatched the abovementioned Henry as nuncio to the region to settle the ongoing dispute between Swietopolk and the

¹⁹³ Letters of 22 January 1248: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, nos. 4088–90; letter of 23 January 1248: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 4092; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 165. Crusaders fighting the Mongols were given a plenary indulgence: letter of 24 June 1248: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 4000.

¹⁹⁴ Hellmann, *Das Lettenland im Mittelalter*, p. 177; Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, p. 294 and p. 402.

¹⁹⁵ Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 401–4; letter of 27 September 1250: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 214; letter of 24 February 1251: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 218; letter of 9 March 1251: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 221.

¹⁹⁶ Hellmann, *Das Lettenland im Mittelalter*, p. 183; Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 402–4.

Order.¹⁹⁷ Swietopolk did not yield to the papal pressure, but appears instead to have filed complaints against the Order at the curia in the autumn of 1245.¹⁹⁸ Innocent dismissed the unsuccessful Henry and appointed as new papal representative the abbot of Mezzanum whom he ordered to establish a truce between the parties or, if he failed, to refer them to the curia.¹⁹⁹ Presumably echoing complaints raised against the Order by Swietopolk and his Prussian allies, the abbot was also exhorted to ensure that the new converts enjoyed the liberties guaranteed them by Innocent's predecessors Innocent III, Honorius III, and Gregory IX. The abbot successfully negotiated a two-year truce.²⁰⁰ Towards its end, in November 1247, Innocent appointed a new representative, James Pantaléon, archdeacon of Liège, papal chaplain and the future Pope Urban IV, to act as mediator in the disputes between the Order and Swietopolk and the Prussians.²⁰¹ The issues of the conflicts had been extensively discussed at the curia beforehand through envoys, but the pope had now decided to delegate them to his representative.²⁰² The command of the crusaders in Prussia was temporarily transferred to the papal representatives—in 1245 to the abbot of Mezzanum and in 1247 to James—while they were in the region, presumably reflecting the papal dissatisfaction with the Order's stance in the dispute with Duke

¹⁹⁷ Henry carried letters ordering Swietopolk to cease the fighting with the Order as well as a letter to the archbishop of Gnesen who was to force the duke to do so, under threat of excommunication (three letters of 1 February 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, nos 160–1 and no. 165). He also brought letters exhorting Polish princes to support the Teutonic Knights against the Prussians (letter of 1 February 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 163).

¹⁹⁸ Letter of 14 October 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 174; Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 292–3.

¹⁹⁹ Letter of 7 October 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 170; letters of 11 October 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 171 and no. 173; letter of 14 October 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1., no. 174.

²⁰⁰ Letter of 11 October 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 172; Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina*, pp. 292–3.

²⁰¹ Letters of 19–22 November 1247: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, nos 196–201. For the increased appointments of papal chaplains during Innocent IV's pontificate, see R. Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert". *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* XXXVI (1950), pp. 187ff.

²⁰² Letter of 30 May 1248: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 205; letter of 24 November 1248: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 213; letter of 7 February 1249: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 218. James did not receive legatine status, but used the title "*domini pape capellanus ac eiusdem in Polonia, Prussia, Pomerania vices gerens*", for instance in letter of 24 November 1248: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 213.

Swietopolk. James successfully mediated two treaties, one of 24 November 1248 between the Order and the Pomeranian duke and that at Christburg of February 1249 between the Order and the Prussians.²⁰³ This case illustrates that that Innocent did not offer the Order unconditional endorsement:²⁰⁴ rather than simply taking the Order's side, he wished to examine the matters more closely by sending a man to the region. He did not simply rubberstamp everything the Order did. But the fact that the pope was willing to accommodate the Order's many requests and gave it wide-ranging powers regarding not only the crusades in Livonia and Prussia, but also against the Mongols, shows that he generally supported the Order. The strong bonds between the Knights and the German emperor had not significantly damaged Innocent's support for them, despite the renewed papal-imperial conflict.

Innocent IV and the royal Danish crusades in the Baltic

The reliance of the papacy on the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic region did not signal an end to its endorsement of other crusades against the pagans. Although neither the missionary bishops of Livonia nor the Swedes appear to have been planning new crusades during Innocent's pontificate,²⁰⁵ the Danes intended to continue their involvement in the eastern Baltic region.

King Valdemar of Denmark had died in 1241 and was succeeded by his son Erik IV (1241–50). Erik contested the division of lands made in the Treaty of Stensby in 1238 with the Teutonic Order, demanding the some of the northern Estonian lands which had been transferred to the Order. He also wished to gain control over Ösel and Wiek from Bishop Henry of Ösel-Wiek.²⁰⁶ In 1242 he planned

²⁰³ Letter of 23 September 1243: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 146; letter of 18 October 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 175; letter of 22 November 1247: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 201; letter of 24 November 1248: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 213; letter of 7 February 1249: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 218.

²⁰⁴ Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, p. 98.

²⁰⁵ The dating of the so-called Second Finnish Crusade is debated; see note 16 on p. 190 above.

²⁰⁶ Letter of 8 August 1251: *DD*, vol. 2.1, no. 45; letter of 8 August 1251: *DD*, vol. 2.1, no. 46. See also *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 327. For the terms of the Treaty of Stensby, see note 8, p. 189 above.

a campaign to Estonia, perhaps to assert Danish rights here, and embarked along with his brother Abel in 1244, only to abandon the project after having reached the port of Ystad in southern Sweden.²⁰⁷

He immediately began planning a new campaign to Estonia and in February and March 1245 he obtained a series of papal letters in support of his new venture. On 20 February 1245 Pope Innocent issued a letter which authorized the royal crusade. The backbone of the campaign was probably to be the Danish vassals in Estonia, but they were to be supplemented with crusaders from Denmark proper, because in his letter Innocent exhorted the Danish archbishop and his suffragans to preach for Erik's crusade. The pope furthermore granted crusaders who served in the king's campaign for a year the same indulgence as crusaders going to the Holy Land. The purpose of the expedition was to defend the new converts who were reportedly threatened by neighbouring pagans,²⁰⁸ but when stating this in the *narratio* and *dispositio* Innocent was simply copying the phrases used in Gregory IX's letter of 14 December 1240. The organization of the crusade, the indulgence and the papal understanding of the purpose of the campaign thus closely resembled the crusade authorized by Gregory IX in 1240. The defensive theme was, however, elaborated in the *arenga*. The letter's opening lines read: "The faithful must with great force resist those who rise against the faith and plan to extinguish the Christian religion . . .".²⁰⁹ The crusade's target was not clearly stated, but it is likely that Erik intended to focus on either rebellious Estonians within his own lands or the peoples living immediately east of his northern Estonian provinces. At Erik's request Innocent granted the king papal protection while he was on crusade and issued a letter admonishing the Danish bishops to see that this papal protection was upheld.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Letter of 20 June 1242: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 98; "Annales Lundenses", ed. E. Kroman, in *Danmarks Middelalderlige Annaler*, ed. E. Kroman (Copenhagen, 1980), *sub anno* 1244, p. 63; N. Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave. Danmarkshistorie uden retouche* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1971), p. 323.

²⁰⁸ "*Cum igitur hii qui de Estonie partibus per dei gratiam ad fidem christiani nominis sunt conuersi a barbaris et paganis circumstantibus multipliciter molestentur . . .*": letter of 20 February 1245: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 165; letter of 14 December 1240: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 62.

²⁰⁹ "*Insurgentibus contra fidem catholicam et religionem extingere molientibus christianam ea uirtute illaque constantia est a fidelibus resistendum . . .*": letter of 20 February 1245: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 165.

²¹⁰ Two letters of 24 February 1245: *DD*, vol. 1.7, nos 168–9.

The pope also secured the financing for the royal crusade. This was a new feature in the papal endorsement of the Scandinavian crusades in the Baltic. On 2 March 1245 Innocent granted the Danish king the use of the *tercias*, that is, the third of the ecclesiastical tithes which was normally allocated to the upkeep of the churches' fabric, from the church province of Lund for three years for his crusade to Estonia. The king did not, however, get the full amount; the Church was to retain "a suitable part" for its upkeep, "for roofs and candles".²¹¹ The wording of this letter shows that this subsidy was given after requests from the Danish king who had asked specifically for a grant of the *tercias*:

Since it is the case, as you have informed us, that the tithes from the province of Lund, in accordance with old, acknowledged and peacefully observed custom in this province, are divided into three, of which the bishops receive one third, the priests or persons another third, while the last third is kept for the upkeep of the churches we yield to your petitions and concede the abovementioned third reserved for the upkeep of the churches for your expenses for a period of three years.²¹²

Erik, however, was not satisfied with this. Letters issued two years later, in November 1247, suggest that he had complained about the amount granted him and that there had been disputes between him and the Danish archbishop about it. The papal letters of 1247 extended the grant of the *tercias* from three to six years, but the pope now admonished the king to be content, explaining that he had to take the needs of the churches and the honour of the archbishop into account.²¹³

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, individual crusaders had raised funds through sales of property or loans, and feudal lords

²¹¹ ". . . ita tamen quod de ipsa congrua pro eisdem fabricis sarcitectis et luminaribus predictis ecclesiis portio relinquatur": letter of 2 March 1245; *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 170.

²¹² "Hinc est quod cum sicut ex parte tua nobis extitit intimatum/ secundum antiquam et approbatam et hactenus pacifice obseruatam Lundensis/ prouincie consuetudinem ecclesiarum decime in tres partes in ipsa prouincia diuidantur/ quarum unam diocesanum locorum secundam rectores ecclesiarum seu persone recipiunt. tertia uero earundem ecclesiarum fabricis deputatur nos excellentie tue precibus inclinati tibi in subsidium expensarum tuarum pefatam tertiam fabricis deputatam usque ad tres annos duximus concedendam": letter of 2 March 1245; *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 170.

²¹³ ". . . cum dignum sit et condecens tuum super hiis sic impleri desiderium/ quod etiam ecclesiarum profectui et ipsius prelati consulatur honori": letter of 26 November 1247; *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 265; letter of 2 November 1247; *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 264.

could demand financial aid from their vassals.²¹⁴ Kings tried to finance their campaigns in the service of the Church by demanding taxes such as the Saladin tithe levied in both England and France to fund the Third Crusade.²¹⁵ Papal involvement in financing crusades had reached a new stage with the pontificate of Innocent III who in 1199 demanded that all clergy pay a fortieth of their revenue for a year in support of the Fourth Crusade. At the Fourth Lateran Council it was decided to levy a new universal tax for the Fifth Crusade; the rate had now gone up to a twentieth for three years.²¹⁶ Other universal taxes followed, such as that planned by Gregory IX in 1235 in aid of crusades to the Holy Land.²¹⁷ The papacy also imposed taxes to finance crusades in other theatres of war, such as taxes in France in 1209 and 1226 in support of the Albigensian crusades.²¹⁸ Taxation became regular and Innocent IV supported many crusading kings, princes and magnates, mostly from funds collected within the recipient's own territories, including redemption money and tithes; such subsidies usually extended for three years.²¹⁹

The grant to the Danish king, however, was a novel feature for royal Scandinavian crusades in the Baltic and may have been one of the first of its kind for royal crusades outside the Holy Land. It seems to have set a precedent: in April 1247 Innocent IV granted Fernando III of Castile half of the *tercias*, "*medietatem tertie decimarum ecclesiarum regni Legionis fabrice deputate*", for three years as support for his Seville campaign.²²⁰ In 1219, Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo had been granted half of the *tercias* of his province for three years to

²¹⁴ See G. Constable, "The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century", in *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi Institute, 1982), pp. 70ff.

²¹⁵ S. Lloyd, "The Crusading Movement, 1096–1274", in *The Oxford Illustrated History of The Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 56.

²¹⁶ Lloyd, "The Crusading Movement, 1096–1274", p. 57.

²¹⁷ Letters of 28 June 1235: *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, nos 2664–5; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 154.

²¹⁸ Lloyd, "The Crusading Movement, 1096–1274", p. 57.

²¹⁹ Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, pp. 145–9. See for example letter of 16 November 1247: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 3475; two letters of 15 October 1247: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, nos 3311–12.

²²⁰ Letter of 15 April 1247: *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 2538; P. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* [*Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* third series 4] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 111.

finance the Reconquest; but the *tercias* had not previously been given to the Spanish king.²²¹

The papal authorization of Erik's crusade and not least the papal support in the financing of this royal campaign show complete papal acceptance of royal crusades and indeed papal approval of the crusades as a royal responsibility in the Baltic and on the Iberian Peninsula.²²² However, nothing appears to have come of these Danish plans, presumably because of the domestic problems facing King Erik, who from the middle of the 1240s not only feared rebellion from his magnates, but from 1246 onwards also was embroiled in a civil war as his brothers fought him for control over the realm.²²³

Innocent IV and mission among non-Christians

Innocent IV, who was deeply engaged in mission, continued Gregory IX's policy on mission among non-Christians, but expanded its scope. Like his two immediate predecessors, he regarded the two mendicant orders as central to his missionary programme, and he developed the use of the friars in this matter further.

When in March 1245 Innocent wrote to the Franciscans working to expand and strengthen the faith outside Latin Christian Europe, he closely copied Gregory's letter *Cum hora undecima* of 1235, but he elaborated on the powers granted to the missionaries in great detail.²²⁴

²²¹ Letter of 16 March 1219: *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, no. 210; Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy*, p. 111. According to Linehan (*The Spanish Church and the Papacy*, p. 111, note 3), the grant in 1219 to Archbishop Rodrigo has mistakenly been understood as a grant to the king, but Linehan emphasises that this was not the case.

²²² Concerning the Iberian Peninsula, see Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, p. 166.

²²³ See letter of 21 July 1246: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 219; N. Skyum-Nielsen, *Kirkekampen i Danmark 1241–1290. Jakob Erlandsen, samtid og eftertid* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), pp. 30ff.; Skyum-Nielsen, *Kvinde og Slave*, pp. 323–5. Furthermore, a letter from Innocent IV may reflect Danish episcopal resistance against participation in royal campaigns. The pope here admonished the king to cease making excessive demands for military and naval service from his bishops. The letter only survives as a summary from Lucoppidan from around the year 1700 which gives no date, but it was issued by Innocent IV and hence dates to between 1243 and 1254 (letter of [1243 × 1254]: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 130; Skyum-Nielsen, *Kirkekampen i Danmark*, pp. 29–30). It cannot with any certainty be related to the planned royal crusade.

²²⁴ Letter of [21 × 22 March] 1245: *Acta Innocentii PP. IV (1243–1254)*, ed. T. H. Haluščynskij (Rome, 1962), no. 19; Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, p. 50; see also Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, pp. 36–8.

He also somewhat clarified and expanded the missionary targets. While Gregory's bull had been addressed to the Dominican Friar William of Montferrat and his fellow brethren and had not specified their missionary fields in any detail, Innocent's letter was addressed to the Franciscans working among Muslims, pagans, and Christian schismatics in the East as well as among the peoples of Asia and North Africa. Over the years new missionary targets were added in response to new developments and information, as when Dominican and Franciscan envoys were sent to the Mongols to attempt their conversion and to exhort the khan to cease his attacks on Christian Europe.²²⁵

Innocent's interest in mission is reflected in the fact that, having been trained as a canon lawyer, he developed the legal basis for a theory of papal relations with infidel societies, stating that the responsibility of a pope for the souls of all men meant that he could send missionaries even against the wishes of the local rulers. He did, however, stress that conversion must be voluntary.²²⁶ It may have been this interest in mission and in affairs in the periphery of Europe which led him to declare in September 1245 that the crusades in the Baltic region should not be neglected out of concern for the planned crusade in aid of the Holy Land.²²⁷ None of his predecessors had given the leaders of the Baltic crusades such firm assurances. Innocent thereby clearly demonstrated that he regarded the Baltic crusades to be of equal importance to the crusades in aid of the Holy Land and that he did not operate with a formal or actual hierarchy of crusades.

The Baltic crusades after Innocent IV

Crusades in Prussia

Innocent IV's successors maintained the support for the Teutonic Order's crusades in Prussia, Livonia and Kurland. Their bulls authorizing new campaigns were often based on *Qui iustis causis*, Innocent IV's letter of September 1243, and the Teutonic Order's crusades thereby continued in the form which had been laid down by Gregory IX and further developed by Innocent IV.

²²⁵ Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, p. x and pp. 42–5.

²²⁶ Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, p. x, p. 5 and p. 11.

²²⁷ Letter of 13 September 1245: *PUB*, vol. 1.1, no. 169. See p. 230 above.

New features did, however, continue to appear. The Order gained even more control over the preaching and recruitment campaigns and a greater say in the collaboration with the Dominican friars. Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) allowed the Order to choose their preferred crusade propagandists amongst the German Dominicans and, soon afterwards, ordered that preaching for the Order's crusades only could take place with the Order's consent.²²⁸ He also allowed the Order's priests to dispense crusaders from vows and grant them the promised indulgence in return for a suitable satisfaction.²²⁹ In the 1260s the popes allowed the Order to employ more religious orders in the crusading propaganda. In 1260 Pope Alexander allowed the Teutonic Order's own clerics, "*per fratres clericos eiusdem ordinis ad hoc idoneos*", to preach its crusades in the regions already designated as its recruiting grounds. By that time the Franciscans had already become involved in the preaching for the Order's campaigns—although it is uncertain exactly when they first received this assignment—and from 1263 also Cistercians and Premonstratensians were used as preachers for the Teutonic Order's campaigns.²³⁰

The Prussian crusades competed with the crusades proclaimed against the Mongols, but in 1260 Alexander IV warned the German archbishops that the crusades against the Mongols should not take priority over those against the Prussians.²³¹ The latter had been resumed as the treaty of Christburg of 1249 had proven to be only a temporary respite: a new rebellion ravaged the Prussian lands in 1260, and the Order's control there was only established in the early 1280s after a series of crusades.²³² In the following centuries the Order continued its warfare against the Lithuanians and, from the early fourteenth century, against Poland. After the fall of Acre in

²²⁸ Letter of 27 June 1257: *PUB*, vol. 1.2, no. 14; letter of 6 August 1257: *PUB*, vol. 1.2, no. 21.

²²⁹ Letter of 7 August 1257: *PUB*, vol. 1.2, no. 24.

²³⁰ Two letters of 20 February 1260: *PUB*, vol. 1.2, nos 94–5; see also letter of 17 April 1265: *PUB*, vol. 1.2, no. 234; Ehlers, "Die Ablaßpraxis des Deutschen Ordens" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), p. 38 and p. 44. Pope Urban IV (1261–4) often exhorted the mendicants to preach for crusades to Prussia, as in 1261 and 1262 when both Franciscans and Dominicans should do so: see for instance letter of 11 December 1261: *PUB*, vol. 1.2, no. 141; two letters of 24 April 1262: *PUB*, vol. 1.2, nos. 158 and 160.

²³¹ Letter of 9 September 1260: *PUB*, vol. 1.2, no. 113.

²³² Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, p. 94 and p. 100; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 324.

1291, it moved its headquarters first to Venice and then, in 1309, to Marienburg (Malbork) in Prussia, and the activities in the Baltic now became the Order's main priority.²³³

Royal crusades in the Baltic region

The royal Scandinavian crusades had now found their final form. Pope Alexander IV authorized a royal Danish crusade, but his letter cannot be dated precisely. Copying parts of Gregory IX's letter to the Danish archbishop of 14 December 1240, he authorized the preaching of a crusade in defence of the new converts, granting a plenary indulgence to crusaders as well as an indulgence to those who sent crusaders in their place. He also allowed commutation of vows from the Holy Land to Estonia, just as Gregory had done in 1240. The archbishop was to organize the preaching campaign, appointing suitable clerics, "*religiosas personas ad hoc idoneas*", in all of Denmark.²³⁴ Nothing is, however, known about papal support for the financing of this campaign; if separate letters were issued on this matter these have not survived. But nothing came of these royal plans, presumably because of the difficulties facing the Danish kings in the middle of the thirteenth century when they not only were embroiled in a long dispute with the Danish archbishop but also in warfare against the Norwegian king and the northern German princes.²³⁵

²³³ Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 326.

²³⁴ Letter of 14 December 1240: *DD*, vol. 1.7, no. 62; letter of [12 December 1254 × 25 May 1261]: *Bullarium Danicum. Pævelige Aktstykker vedrørende Danmark 1198–1316*, ed. A. Krarup (Copenhagen, 1932), no. 484. Alexander's letter has been tentatively dated to 11 March 1256 by the editors of the *DD* (*DD*, vol. 2.1, p. 145), because of the issue of papal bulls in support of the Teutonic Knights' crusades in Prussia and Livonia (letters of 11 March 1256: *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*, vol. 1, no. 65, pp. 299–300; for the list of recipients, see *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV*, no. 1448); there are, however, no similarities in wording or substance between these letters and the letter to the Danish king, and this does thus not appear a valid argument for dating the letter.

²³⁵ N. Skyum-Nielsen, *Fruer og Vildmænd. Dansk Middelalderhistorie*, 2 vols (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1994–7), vol. 1, pp. 26–9. While there were no more royal Danish campaigns, the Swedes cooperated in the middle of the 1250s with a certain Didman, believed to have been the Danish vassal Dietrich of Kiwel who held lands in eastern Estonia (P. Johansen, *Die Estlandsliste des Liber Censu Daniae* (Copenhagen: H. Hagerup, 1933), p. 800) and who thus had a vested interest in participating in the Swedish expansion and adding lands to his estate (see letter of 19 March 1255: *LEC*, vol. 1, no. 281; letter of 1 June 1254: *DD*, vol. 2.1, no. 143; letter of 28 April 1257:

The dispute with the Danish archbishop took off in 1254, and the following decades saw a complete breakdown of relations between king and archbishop. The conflict ended with the defeat of the archbishop in an agreement of 1272, but an interdict on Denmark was only lifted in the spring of 1275 when all disputes with the archiepiscopal party were settled.²³⁶ Although the Danish Church was by no means united against the king, this conflict made it impossible for the king to plan further crusades and the royal Danish crusades to Estonia had come to an end.²³⁷ The Danish involvement in Estonia terminated in the 1340s. Its hold over the Estonian provinces had been weakened by an interregnum of several years in Denmark (1332–40), and in 1346 King Valdemar IV (1340–75) sold his Estonian provinces to the Teutonic Order.²³⁸

While the Danish attempts at expansion in the region petered out in the latter half of the thirteenth century, the Swedish crusades to Finland continued. The mid-1250s saw renewed hostilities between the Russians and the Swedes, as the Swedes conducted an unsuccessful invasion into the Novgorodian lands in 1256, suffering a counter-attack in the winter of 1256–7.²³⁹ This Swedish campaign may have been coordinated with Archbishop Albert Suerbeer of Riga who had received papal permission to create a bishopric for the pagans of Karelia, Votia, and Izhoria, the lands east of Finland and

DD, vol. 2.1, no. 221; letter of [January × June] 1259: *DD*, vol. 2:1, no. 267). See Johansen, *Die Estlandsliste des Liber Census Daniae*, pp. 800–4; Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, p. 136; and J. Lind, “Den dansk-russiske traktat 1302. Erik Menveds østpolitik og omvæltningen i de nordiske alliancer”, *Historisk tidsskrift* 96 (1996), pp. 6–8.

²³⁶ For a thorough analysis of these events, see Skyum-Nielsen, *Kirkekampen i Danmark, passim*.

²³⁷ A Danish defensive measure against Novgorod’s attack on the fortress at Wesenberg in 1268 did not constitute an attempt at renewing the Danish crusades (*Livländische Reimchronik*, v. 7567–676, pp. 173–6; *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno 1268*, pp. 100–1; ‘Annales Sorani ad 1268’, ed. E. Kroman, in *Danmarks Middelalderlige Annaler*, ed. E. Kroman (Copenhagen, 1980), *sub anno 1268*, p. 105; Johansen, *Die Estlandsliste des Liber Census Daniae*, p. 159). Nor can the cooperation between the Danes in Estonia and the Teutonic Order in 1270 and 1278–9 be classed as royal Danish campaigns (*Livländische Reimchronik*, v. 7851–994, pp. 180–3, and v. 8295–487, pp. 190–4; Skyum-Nielsen, *Frøer og Vildmænd*, vol. 1, p. 74).

²³⁸ N. Skyum-Nielsen, “Estonia under Danish Rule”, in *Danish Medieval History. New Currents*, ed. N. Skyum-Nielsen and N. Lund (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1981), pp. 128–9.

²³⁹ *The Chronicle of Novgorod sub anno 1256*, p. 95.

Estonia, in August 1255, showing that he held hopes for enlargement of the faith further east.²⁴⁰

In 1256 or 1257 Alexander IV issued a letter to the archbishop elect of Uppsala after requests from the Swedish king.²⁴¹ The Swedish king had vividly described attacks suffered by the Christians in his kingdom at the hands of the Karelians and other pagans living nearby, in which the pagans had reportedly killed many faithful, ravaged the lands and taken many Christians as slaves. The pope therefore authorized a crusade, granting all crusaders that indulgence which was enjoyed by crusaders going to the Holy Land, while those who sent others in their place or gave donations for this venture also received an indulgence. The crusaders were to be recruited among the subjects of the Swedish king and the preaching campaign was to be organized by the Swedish archbishop. The organization of this crusade hence followed the by now traditional model for royal crusades in the region, although nothing is known about papal financial support.

In January 1275 Pope Gregory X (1271–6) issued a letter authorizing new crusades against the pagans living east of the Swedish possessions in Finland.²⁴² He referred to Alexander's letter and stated that since the crusade authorized by Alexander had not been successful, a new crusade was necessary. He authorized its preaching, but did not offer any details as to the indulgence or privileges offered, simply stating that this should be done in accordance with the letter of Alexander. Gregory's somewhat unenthusiastic and disengaged response may have been due to his concern for the Holy Land. Immediately after his election he had begun organizing a crusade to the East where the situation was dire. At the Second Council of Lyons in May 1274 he had issued *Constitutiones pro zelo fidei* which detailed the plans for a new crusade—including arrangements for a large-scale funding campaign—which he himself intended to lead.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Letter of 3 August 1255: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 108. See also Selart, "Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation", pp. 167–8, and Nazarova, "The Crusades Against Votians and Izhorians", pp. 188ff.

²⁴¹ Letter of [1256 × 1257]: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 113. The dating of this letter is unclear. It is addressed to the archbishop elect of Uppsala; the bishop was elected in 1256, but only ordained in 1257 (see *FMU*, vol.1, p. 46).

²⁴² Letter of 9 January 1275: *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, ed. J. G. Liljegren et al., in progress (Stockholm 1829ff.), vol. 1, no. 255, but see *FMU*, vol. 8, no. 6568, for the dating of the letter.

²⁴³ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, pp. 176–7; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 7 and pp. 12–14.

The Swedes consolidated their hold over the Finnish lands through colonization and the creation of a royal administration which divided the territory into bailiwicks. Despite their previous lack of success and the continuing conflict with Novgorod, they persevered in their attempt to subjugate and convert the peoples living east of their Finnish territories and to gain control over the trade in the easternmost part of the Baltic. An expedition, the so-called Third Finnish Crusade, led by Marshal Tyrgils Knutsson and the bishop of Västerås in Sweden, conquered Karelia in 1293 and forced baptism on the Karelians. Conflict between the Swedes and Novgorod was stepped up in the late 1310s and early 1320s, but a peace was brokered at the Novgorodian fortress of Nöteborg (Orekhov) by the River Neva in 1323.²⁴⁴ It was, however, only temporary: in 1348 King Magnus of Sweden (1319–63) launched a new crusade against Novgorodian territory, capturing Nöteborg. Novgorod soon re-conquered its territory, and a new Swedish attack in 1350 did not bring any lasting results. No papal authorizations of the campaigns in the 1290s and the 1340s are known, but in 1351 Pope Clement VI (1342–52) authorized yet another Swedish crusade, ordering the archbishops of Uppsala, Lund and Trondheim to preach against the Russians whose attacks were reportedly threatening to force the newly converted Karelians and Izhorians into apostasy. Crusaders were granted that indulgence which was given to crusaders going to the Holy Land.²⁴⁵ However, King Magnus could not muster another army, and so the papal authorization was not put to use. This was the last Swedish crusade of the high Middle Ages.²⁴⁶ The Swedish hold over its Finnish conquests was, however, firm, and Finland was to remain Swedish until 1809.

As these events show, the popes of the later thirteenth century did not shift all their support to the Teutonic Order, but continued to back royal crusades in the region. The end of the Danish crusades was not due to lack of papal support, but to domestic and international difficulties facing the Danish kings. The Swedish kings, however, continued their crusades from Finland throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

²⁴⁴ Lind, "Early Russian-Swedish Rivalry", p. 278; Edgren and Törnblom, *Finlands Historia*, pp. 298ff.; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 334.

²⁴⁵ Letter of 14 March 1351: *FMU*, vol. 1, no. 588 (see *DD*, vol. 3:3, no. 398, for a slightly differing dating of the letter).

²⁴⁶ Edgren and Törnblom, *Finlands Historia*, pp. 322ff.; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 336–7, who also discusses the events of 1495–6 and the issue of a new crusade bull.

Conclusions

Christoph Maier has suggested that during the pontificate of Gregory IX the curia wished “to concentrate as much military power as possible with the Teutonic Knights in order to minimize the rivalries between the Christian powers in the Baltic and thus create better conditions for the christianization of north-eastern Europe”.²⁴⁷ However, while Gregory certainly gave his full support to the Teutonic Order in Prussia, he remained happy to back the campaigns of the Scandinavian kings and Churches.

Gregory supported a variety of crusades in the Baltic region, as his pontificate saw the creation of two new models for crusades there. The ‘old’ form of crusades continued: Scandinavian kings or archbishops initiated a campaign, gained papal authorization of their venture, but planned, financed and conducted the crusade without further papal involvement, and recruitment was left to preaching by local bishops. The first of the ‘new’ models was seen with the arrival of the Teutonic Order. Having received papal authorization to conduct a crusade, the Order organized and led the crusade, but recruitment was carried out by the Dominican Order. The Teutonic Order received financial support through the redemption of vows and alms collected by the friars. The second ‘new’ model is revealed in the crusading bull of 1236 which authorized a crusade conducted along yet different lines. The initiative is likely to have come from within the curia or from Legate William, and he was left in charge of the undertaking. He was to conduct the preaching and was intended to have a say in the organization of the crusade itself. While Gregory intended William to have great influence over the 1236 crusade, he did not, however, suggest that William should intervene in the Prussian crusades; these were left entirely to the Order. The missionary bishops of Livonia did not receive any bulls authorizing them to be in charge of crusades during Gregory’s pontificate; this probably reflects that these bishops did not approach the curia for crusading authorizations because of their dispute with Legate Baldwin. As far as the missionary bishop of Prussia was concerned, Bishop Christian does appear to have requested papal approval of a new crusade in 1231. But when in the summer of 1231 his reports led Gregory IX to call for a crusade to be preached in Pomerania and Gotland, the crusaders

²⁴⁷ Maier, *Preaching the crusades*, p. 51.

were to follow the orders and advice of both Bishop Christian and the Teutonic Knights. This shows Gregory's determination to promote the Teutonic Order as a leading force in the Prussian enterprise.

The diversity of the organization of these crusades reflects the papal willingness to authorize crusades proposed by the powers involved in the Baltic, but it also demonstrates that the curia now took a much more active role than previously. It no longer merely reacted, but it initiated campaigns in Livonia and Estonia through its legate and made detailed decisions about the preaching campaigns of the Dominicans for the Prussian crusades. It was, of course, the presence of a papal legate which enabled the curia to take a leading role in the crusading activities in the Baltic, as this provided it with information and a representative who could intervene directly in events. The arrival in Prussia of the Teutonic Order was also important. This Order had a very good and well-established relationship with the pope and his curia and was able to influence papal policy and suggest innovations, thereby contributing significantly to the formation of the curial policy on the Baltic crusades.

Although the crusades undertaken in the Baltic region during Gregory's pontificate varied organizationally, they all received papal blessing and the participants all enjoyed a plenary, not merely a partial, indulgence. Gregory thereby continued the policy of Honorius, but made several changes in other aspects. He allowed a full, unconditional commutation of vows from the Holy Land to the Baltic in December 1240 and he aided recruitment campaigns by granting indulgences to the audiences at the sermons of the Dominican friars. Furthermore, he allowed the Teutonic Order to receive the income from redeemed vows and he extended the geographical region in which the Dominicans were to recruit crusaders for the Order's crusades, thereby securing them wider support.

During the pontificate of Gregory's successor, Innocent IV, the crusades in the Baltic were driven forward by the Teutonic Order and Scandinavian royal powers. The role of the missionary bishops as initiators of crusades had almost disappeared by Gregory's pontificate and was not resurrected. Innocent strongly endorsed the Baltic crusades and made it clear that he regarded the Baltic crusades to be of equal importance to the crusades in aid of the Holy Land, but he does not appear to have initiated any campaigns. He thus chose a somewhat more reactive position—just as most of his predecessors had done. His authorization of King Erik's crusade in the mid-1240s

and not least the papal support in the financing of the royal campaign shows that while the curia fully backed the activities of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia it still ascribed a leading role to the Scandinavian royal powers. The model for the Order's crusades created during Gregory IX's pontificate was developed further. While in his first letter issued after his election concerning the Baltic crusades Innocent chose to follow the line laid down by his predecessor by partly copying Gregory's letters, he soon made significant changes in papal policy by giving the Knights the right to recruit crusaders without public preaching, giving them a free rein in their recruitment by renouncing the need for papal authorization of individual campaigns and hence papal control over the ventures. This innovation came about on the Order's instigation, but Innocent embraced it, perhaps because of his interest in mission and in the defence of the missionary work.

He maintained the new papal involvement in mission among non-Christians. The papal policy on external mission in the middle of the thirteenth century was a continuation of the line first laid out by Honorius III and subsequently modified by Gregory IX. Throughout the thirteenth century Gregory's successors often used his letter, *Cum hora undecima* of February 1235, when they issued letters conferring privileges and licences to missionaries. The popes of the later thirteenth century continued to adjust the papal policy on mission among non-Christians, but its key characteristics which had been formed by Honorius III and Gregory IX—the increased importance ascribed to external mission and the cooperation with the mendicant orders—remained.

The high degree of continuity between the policies of Honorius III, Gregory IX and Innocent IV with regard to the Baltic crusades, mission and the employment of the mendicant orders is not surprising. As cardinal of Ostia and thereby a leading member of the college of cardinals, Gregory had been an influential member of the curia during Honorius's pontificate, while Innocent, in turn, had enjoyed the patronage of Gregory. Innocent had spent many years in Gregory's service, presumably being inspired and influenced by Gregory's views on these matters.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE POPES AND THE BALTIC CRUSADES: CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

The papal policy on the Baltic crusades from Pope Eugenius III's proclamation of a crusade against the pagan Slavs in 1147 to the end of Pope Innocent IV's pontificate in 1254 was not a gradually evolving one. The first half of this period saw great discontinuity with the papal policy varying considerably from pope to pope, as some of Eugenius's successors did not regard these campaigns as equal to the crusades in aid of the Holy Land. From Pope Honorius III's pontificate onwards, however, the papal line was consistent and the Baltic campaigns were recognized as being on a par with the crusades undertaken in the East.

The crusades in the Baltic came into being with Eugenius III's call for the crusade against the pagan Slavs as part of the Second Crusade. In the next decades, however, the papacy did nothing to follow up this new venture. There were no attempts to resurrect the fight against the pagans or to expand the Christian faith under papal leadership, and there was no change of the view held hitherto in the curia that mission was the purview of local archbishops, bishops and princes. This may partly have been because the curia was usually passive, but it was also because more important matters dominated its agenda: after the failure of the Second Crusade the situation in the Holy Land worsened, and crusading morale in the West was low.

The proclamation of a crusade against the pagan Slavs had come about at the initiative of German magnates who had persuaded Bernard of Clairvaux, when he arrived in Frankfurt in the early spring of 1147 to preach the crusade in aid of the Holy Land, to allow them to serve the Church in the Baltic rather than in the East. The extension of the crusade concept was thereby instigated by laymen, but mediated by the pope's adviser and former teacher. Warfare against the pagan neighbours was not a new phenomenon, but with the papal authorization of such campaigns and their transformation into a crusade the magnates now received spiritual rewards for their undertakings and realized ideas about meritorious warfare

against pagans long in existence in the region. They did not, however, take any more initiatives of this sort. We do not know of any princely attempts at lobbying the curia for new crusades. This may reflect the princes' lack of experience in dealing and negotiating with the papacy. Although there was a growing recognition of papal authority, the involvement of the curia in the warfare against the pagans would have been a break with tradition and the way in which the northern princes had hitherto perceived and organized their wars against their neighbours. After all, the sequence of events which in 1147 had led to the proclamation of a crusade against the pagans had not demanded much forward planning from the laymen: they were handed the opportunity to meet Bernard to discuss warfare in the service of the Church at a meeting they had not instigated.

The next attempts to obtain papal authorization for campaigns in the Baltic came from within the Church, from archbishops and bishops who were used to operating within the ecclesiastical hierarchy and found it natural to appeal to its head. Around 1170 the Danish archbishop petitioned Pope Alexander III for support for a planned mission in the eastern Baltic region and two decades later the new Livonian missionary bishop, working under the auspices of the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, approached the curia for papal backing. Only in the early thirteenth century did princes approach the curia and I have suggested that the Danish king's strategy originated with and was orchestrated by the Danish Archbishop Anders Sunesen, who knew the curial procedures well and worked actively to strengthen the links between the curia and Denmark. He also appears to have been influenced by the crusading ideology which had developed with respect to the Holy Land. Soon Swedish, Polish and Pomeranian princes followed suit.

The papal response to these petitions varied greatly. Alexander III did not follow the precedent set by Eugenius III, who had granted the crusades in the Baltic the same status as that of crusades to the Holy Land and had rewarded participants with a full crusade indulgence. Instead, Alexander gave the participants only a partial indulgence and made no attempt to involve the curia in the campaign's organization or to secure its success by setting up measures for recruitment and financing. In effect he created a hierarchy of penitential warfare in the service of the Church in which campaigns in the Baltic, and in Spain, were given less priority and hence less backing in the form of privileges than crusades in aid of the Holy Land.

Pope Celestine III, however, appears to have granted crusaders in the Baltic a plenary indulgence, although the scarce source material allows us to reach only tentative conclusions on this.

Innocent III chose another line. He never referred to his predecessors' letters concerning the Baltic campaigns, perhaps as a conscious move to dissociate himself from their policies. With one striking exception, he was careful to emphasise that the purpose of military action in the Baltic region was to defend the new Livonian mission against pagan attacks, while his predecessors, certainly Eugenius III and Alexander III, had worded their authorizations in a way that left open the possibility of conversions by force, in breach of canon law. The purpose of penitential warfare in the Baltic now changed from the enlargement of Christendom to the defence of those working for the expansion of the faith. Innocent rewarded participants in the Baltic campaigns with an unspecified and partial indulgence, which was usually granted only to the fighters themselves, not to those who otherwise supported these ventures. He clearly regarded the expeditions in the Baltic as being less important and of less merit than the crusades in aid of the Holy Land, thus maintaining the hierarchy of penitential warfare already seen in Alexander III's pontificate.

A shift in papal policy came with the pontificate of Honorius III. Like his predecessors, Honorius's policy was a reactive one in which he responded to requests from the local powers involved in the expansion of Christendom in the Baltic region. But he chose to respond to these requests with a fuller support than his predecessor, although he regarded the Fifth Crusade, which had been launched by his predecessor and now faced grave difficulties, as being of more immediate importance. The expeditions in the Baltic were now put explicitly on a par with the crusades to the East, as the participants in the Baltic crusades were consistently rewarded with the same indulgence as that enjoyed by those who fought in defence of the Holy Land. Honorius also frequently gave indulgences to those who supported these crusades financially or sponsored crusaders. He authorized crusades in Prussia, thereby allowing a transformation of the mission there. The upgrading of the Baltic crusades did not originate with the arrival in Prussia of Hermann von Salza and the Teutonic Order around 1230, but was in place before this Order entered the scene.

This line was to be followed by his successors, and from Honorius's pontificate onwards the papal policy was to be consistent. This new continuity is reflected in the fact that the popes often copied their

predecessors' letters—in part or in full—on the Baltic crusades. Honorius's strong endorsement of these crusades reflects a general interest in mission, not only to pagans, but also to Muslims and heretics. In fact, Honorius took a much more active and initiating role in external mission than his predecessors. This was associated with his support for the new mendicant orders. I have suggested that Honorius's ideas about the Baltic campaigns were greatly influenced by a circle of men gathering at the curia, which was, of course, the centre of the administration of Latin Christendom. Through its many visitors it became a focal point for exchange of information and ideas. During Honorius's pontificate an influential group exchanged experiences from, and ideas about, the mission in north-east Europe; among these were Dominic, Cardinal Ugolino, Bishop Christian of Prussia, Bishop Albert of Livonia and William of Modena, who in 1224 was appointed papal legate to the region. Honorius is likely to have taken part in these exchanges. He must have been inspired by their views and he must also have influenced the debates. Renewed emphasis on pastoral care, evangelizing among Christians and mission among heretics, Muslims and pagans found resonance with the pope and with the founders of the new mendicant orders. Although Dominic never personally became involved in the mission in the Baltic region, it is likely that he came to wield influence over it through his contacts with those involved in deciding papal policy. The essence of the papal programme in the Baltic was to support the missionary bishops in their work and to authorize crusades in defence of converts and missionaries. This programme was not new, but it received new emphasis as Honorius gave greater support to campaigns in the region than had his predecessor and facilitated the generation of resources and manpower for the ventures. Furthermore, the fear of apostasy among the new converts led to a more pronounced focus on their position and a continuous care for their circumstances. General developments in ideas about the role of the Church and the implementation of the papal responsibility for the care of all souls influenced the policy of Honorius—and his successors—on the Baltic undertakings. The defence of the missionaries and those they had succeeded in securing for the faith became essential and hence warranted crusades.

When Cardinal Ugolino became Pope Gregory IX after Honorius's death in 1227, he continued to express these ideas. During his pontificate, the curia took on a more active role and in 1236 it orga-

nized a crusade which was to be preached and orchestrated by the papal legate, William of Modena. Gregory's pontificate also saw the arrival of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The involvement of this international military order heralded a new phase of the mission there. The Order benefited from easy access to the curia, through its master and his proctors, and enjoyed great papal support, leading to a series of innovations in the organization of the Prussian crusades. However, while the role of the missionary bishops as leaders of the crusades had now diminished considerably, the curia maintained its support for the crusades of the Scandinavian kings to Estonia and Finland and did not attempt to grant the Teutonic Order a monopoly on mission and crusading in the region. The curia's more active involvement in the Baltic crusades also led to several innovations such as the permission in 1240 for a full, unconditional commutation of vows made in favour of the Holy Land to the Danish king's crusade, the involvement of the Dominicans in preaching for the Teutonic Order's crusades and measures to secure the Order financial support. Like Honorius, Gregory took a strong interest in external mission and developed the papal policy in this matter further.

Also Pope Innocent IV was very involved in mission among non-Christians, both pagans and Muslims. Already Innocent III had followed and supported the conversion of Muslims in the Holy Land and North Africa, but Honorius III and Gregory IX had developed this practice further in cooperation with the Franciscans and the Dominicans, and Innocent IV now continued this. He also continued the policies of his predecessor and patron, Gregory IX, with regard to the Baltic crusades. He supported not only the Teutonic Order's crusades in Prussia and Livonia, but also the plans of the Danish king for a crusade. However, he added new elements to Gregory's line by giving, in effect, the Teutonic Knights a free hand in their recruitment by renouncing the need for papal authorization of individual campaigns and hence papal control over the ventures. He also took measures to secure the financing of the Danish king's campaign. But his attitude was a reactive one in which both the authorizations of crusades and the innovations which brought additional resources to these campaigns constituted responses to petitions from the Order and the Danish king. His successors followed him in consistently supporting the crusades of the Order and the Scandinavian kings. The Danish crusades soon came to an end, but the Swedish kings and the Teutonic Order continued to be active in the region.

Recognition of inconsistency in the popes' treatment of Baltic campaigns in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries has implications for our understanding of their perceptions of penitential warfare. From the late eleventh century onwards the idea of penitential warfare had gained ground. The most fully developed form was the crusade to the Holy Land which after Pope Urban II's call for a crusade to liberate Jerusalem in 1095 became a central and recurrent element in papal policy. While the First Crusade with its core characteristics remained the model for all subsequent crusades, Urban's successors developed the idea of the crusade further and elaborated on it, clarifying and adding to the privileges granted to participants and devising new measures to organize and boost recruitment, facilitate the organization and ensure papal control over the ventures. But alongside crusades there existed other forms of penitential warfare. The popes had at their disposal a series of measures which could be employed to motivate the faithful to take up warfare in defence of the Church. These included the indulgence, partial or plenary, and temporal privileges such as papal protection of the participants. Eugenius's successors appear to have regarded these as something that could be mixed and matched in whatever way would be expedient and appropriate for the cause in question, reflecting the importance and priority they ascribed to it. There came into being a hierarchy of penitential warfare where participation in the crusades to the Holy Land warranted an indulgence of greater penitential content, a greater range of temporal privileges and more papal involvement than penitential wars fought elsewhere. It was only from the pontificate of Honorius III onwards that penitential war and crusades came together in the Baltic region, when the Baltic campaigns were put on a par with the crusades in aid of the Holy Land, although, apart from the important temporal privilege of papal protection, the extended series of temporal privileges granted to participants in the crusades in aid of the Holy Land was not given to participants in the Baltic crusades in the period examined here. Nevertheless, from Honorius's pontificate onwards participants in the campaigns in the Baltic region were given the same plenary indulgence as those in the crusades in aid of the Holy Land and an indulgence was granted for various services supporting these ventures, just as was the case with the crusades to the East.

The picture drawn here underlines a weakness in the pluralist definition of the crusades. Pluralists define crusading so strictly that

their model is relevant only for the thirteenth century. Only then was the concept, as understood by them, to be found being consistently applied in a number of theatres of war, in the case of the Baltic from the pontificate of Honorius III. Before him, the penitential wars authorized by the papacy in the Baltic region were not on a par with those launched towards the Holy Land. They were not viewed as such by the papacy, but they show that in some instances some of the instruments associated with crusades could be used to promote a campaign while others were not employed. They suggest that the development of a looser concept of the crusade, one that takes other forms of penitential warfare into account, might be fruitful. The campaigns authorized in the Baltic region before 1216 were associated with the crusades to the East by the popes: they were penitential and shared some of the characteristics of the crusades, including a spiritual reward and, occasionally, the privilege of papal protection; at times Innocent III also referred to these campaigns with the terminology normally used with regard to the crusades to the Holy Land. Furthermore, Innocent III's letters, as well as perhaps those of Celestine III, allowed the commutation of vows to the Baltic campaigns and referred to participants in these enterprises as having taken the cross, showing that Innocent III assumed that participants took a vow to join these campaigns—as did his successors. The Baltic campaigns of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century had some of the features of the crusades in aid of the Holy Land and could be regarded as quasi-crusades.

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INDEX

- Abodrites, *see* Slavs
- Absalon, bishop of Roskilde (1158–92),
archbishop of Lund (1177–1201), 47
- Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg-
Bremen (1043–72), 29
- Adalbert Vojtěch, bishop of Prague
(983–97), 81
- Adam of Bremen, chronicler (d. before
1085), 13, 29
- Adolf, count of Holstein (d. 1164), 35
- Adrian IV, pope (1154–9), 34, 51
- Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, chronicler
(d. after 1251), 175
- Albert (Suerbeer), archbishop of Riga
(1253/55–1273), 230–1, 233, 243
- Albert (of Buxhövdén), bishop of
Livonia (1199–1229), 80, 187
and the Danes, 133–4
and the ecclesiastical organization,
123, 125–6, 171, 181–2
and Emperor Frederick II, 203–4
and Henry of Livonia, 14
and the new converts, 117–19
and the Sword-Brothers, 80–1, 134
and William of Modena, *see* William,
bishop of Modena
and recruitment of crusaders, 68–9,
80, 101, 102, 131, 133–4
and recruitment of missionaries,
113–15, 163 n. 119
appeals to the curia, 80, 83–5, 91,
136, 147, 171, 222
- Albert (the Bear), count of Brandenburg
(d. 1170), 25, 35, 44 n. 78
- Albert, count of Orlamünde and
Holstein (d. 1245), 133 n. 1, 137
- Alberto of Morra, cardinal, *see*
Gregory VIII
- Alexander III, pope (1159–81), 3
and mission in the Baltic region,
54–5, 56–7, 58–65, 76–7, 250–1
and mission among Muslims, 57–8
- Alexander IV, pope (1254–61), 241,
242, 244
- Alexander (Nevskii), prince of
Novgorod (1236–63), 217–18
see also Novgorod
- Alfonso VII, king of Castile (1126–57),
31–2, 35
- Alfonso VIII, king of Castile
(1158–1214), 156–7
- Alfonso Henriques, king of Portugal
(1139–85), 35
- Alfonso Jordan, count of Toulouse
(d. 1148), 35
- Almeria, 35–6
- Alvis, bishop of Arras (1134–47), 34
- Amadeus III, count of Savoy
(1103–48), 34–5
- Anastasius IV, pope (1153–4), 63–4
- Anders (Sunesen), archbishop of Lund
(1201–22)
and crusades to the Holy Land,
87–8, 101 n. 82
and the curia, 85–6, 88–9, 152,
157, 160 n. 112, 250
and Estonia, 85, 123–4, 157
and Finland, 82–3, 126
and mission, 82–3, 86
legatine powers of, 126–7
- Andrew II, king of Hungary (1205–35),
158–9, 189 n. 10
- Anselm, bishop of Havelberg (d. 1158),
34, 49
- apostasy, apostates, 23, 47, 68, 71–5,
78, 92, 117, 119, 177, 179, 191,
209, 245, 252
canon law and, 10
- apostolic life, 40, 49, 120, 183, 197
- Arkona, 43
- Arnold of Lübeck, chronicler (d.
1211/14), 13, 69–71, 86 n. 30, 114
n. 122, 158 n. 103
- Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux (1141–82), 34
- Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), 9, 109
- Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem
(1143–63), 35
- Baldwin, papal legate to the Baltic
(d. 1243), 187–8, 206, 223, 231, 246
- Benedictines
in Livonia, 67, 115
- Bernard of Clairvaux, abbot (d. 1153)
and Eugenius III, 31, 42–3

- and heretics, 41, 120 n. 149
 and the indulgence, 6
 and mission and conversion, 37, 42–3
 and the Second Crusade, 27–9, 30–3, 36, 37, 41, 249–50
 and the Templars, 115 n. 131
see also Cistercians; *tempus acceptabile*
- Berno, bishop of Mecklenburg and Schwerin (d. 1190/1191), 51–2
- Berthold, bishop of Livonia (d. 1198), 26, 68–9, 71, 72, 74, 75
- Boleslaw III, duke of Poland (1102–38), 23
- Boniface, missionary (d. 754), 38, 164
- Boris, khan of the Bulgars (852–89) (d. 907), 38, 118
- Brandenburg, 25, 52 n. 101, 206
see also Albert (the Bear), count of Brandenburg
- Bremen, 13–14, 50, 74, 80, 85 n. 23, 126
see also Hamburg-Bremen
- Brun of Querfurt, missionary (d. 1009), 81
- Burzenland (Barcaság), 159
- Calatrava, Order of, 115 n. 131
- Calixtus II, pope (1119–24), 32
- Charlemagne, emperor (800–14), 91
- Celestine III, pope (1191–8), 3
 and Honorius III, *see* Honorius III
 and Innocent III, *see* Innocent III
 and mission in the Baltic region, 67–75, 77, 99, 115, 183, 251
 and mission in northern Africa, 75
- Cencius, *see* Honorius III
- Charles (the Good), count of Flanders (1119–27), 45
- Christian, bishop of Prussia (d. 1244), 81, 232
 and control over the Prussian mission, 81, 135, 147, 180, 190, 201, 232, 246–7
 and the ecclesiastical organization, 181
 appeals to the curia, 135, 144–5, 146, 151–2, 177, 192
 in captivity, 190, 232
- Cistercian Order, Cistercians, 40, 85 n. 22, 197
 and mission, 51, 162
 and the papacy, 41–2, 51, 113–14, 120, 162–4, 184
 as crusade preachers, 41–2, 241
 at Dargun, 52
 at Doberan, 51
 at Dünamünde, 115
 at Lekno, 81, 116, 183
 in Estonia, 163 n. 119
 in Livonia, 26, 67, 113–15, 163 n. 119
 in Prussia, 81, 116
see also Bernard of Clairvaux
- Clement III, pope (1187–91), 3, 66–7, 74, 75, 183
- Clement VI, pope (1342–52), 245
- Conrad of Urarch, cardinal (1219–27), papal legate, 197
- Conrad III, king of Germany (1138–52), 29, 35
- Conrad I, duke of Masovia (d. 1247), 189
- Conversion
 canon law and, 10, 240
 of Estonians, 133–4, 175–6, 216 n. 122
 of Jews, 92
 of Karelians, 245
 of Livonians, 72, 73–4, 80, 92, 133, 175–6
 of Muslims, 57–8, 61, 167, 253
 of Prussians, 135, 136, 177
 of Slavs, 23–4, 29, 43, 48–9, 51–2
 of Tavastians, 190
see also mission
- Converts
 marriage regulations for, 117–19
 pastoral care among, 49, 50, 67, 76, 117, 133
 status of, 119, 177–9, 185, 201, 203–4, 234
- Councils of the Church
 Lateran III (1179), 10
 Lateran IV (1215), 7, 79, 81, 83–4, 87, 96–7, 98, 121, 125–6, 141, 150, 154, 160, 166, 238
 Lyons I (1245), 228–9, 230
 Lyons II (1274), 244
- crusade(s)
 against the Albigensians, 80, 98, 104, 106–11, 111–13, 131, 210, 238
 against heretics in Germany, 210
 against the Hohenstaufen, 229
 against Markward of Anweiler, 80
 against the Mongols, 210, 224–5, 228, 232–3, 241

- against the Stedinger, 198–9
 crusader vows, *see* vows
 definition of, 5–6, 254–5
 financing of, 149, 197, 200, 237–9,
 246, 250, 253
 see also indulgence, for supporting
 crusades financially; vows,
 redemption of crusade vows
 First, 4, 30, 45, 254
 Fifth, 79, 100–1, 104, 144–6, 148,
 167–8, 185, 202, 251
 Fourth, 79, 96, 100, 238
 in Estonia, 133–4, 206–7, 208–9,
 235–6, 242
 in Finland, Tavastia and Karelia,
 25–6, 190, 209–10, 243–5
 in Livonia, 73–4, 80, 133, 206–7
 in Prussia, 135, 136, 142, 190–1,
 241
 justification for, 32, 61, 71–2, 77–8,
 91–4, 128, 136–8, 193–4, 206–7,
 226, 236, 251
 on the Iberian Peninsula, 31–2,
 35–6, 79, 104, 128, 157–8,
 238–9, 250
 papal representation on, 34, 65,
 103–4, 108, 147–8, 208
 preaching, 27–8, 30, 100–2, 108,
 148, 159, 196–9, 206, 208, 209,
 227–9, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246,
 247
 see also Bernard of Clairvaux;
 Cistercians; Dominicans;
 Franciscans
 privileges, 4–5, 8, 33–4, 63–4, 65,
 73, 77, 98, 108, 129, 254–5
 see also indulgence
 recruitment for crusades in Estonia,
 59, 64, 206, 208, 209, 236, 242,
 246
 recruitment for crusades in Finland,
 Tavastia and Karelia, 209, 244,
 246
 recruitment for crusades in Livonia,
 80, 101–2, 145–6, 148–9, 206,
 208, 228, 229–30
 recruitment for crusades in Prussia,
 145–6, 148, 199–200, 227–8,
 229–30
 recruitment for crusades to the Holy
 Land, 64, 111, 228–9
 recruitment for the Second Crusade,
 28–9, 32, 33
 Second, 25, 27, 34–6, 65, 249
 terminology, 34, 64, 89, 105, 108,
 143–4, 193–4, 255
 Third, 87, 119, 238
 Cujavia, 200
 Cumania, Cumans, 157–9
 Curonia, *see* Kurland

 Damascus, 35, 212
 Damietta, 144, 167
 Daniel, prince of Galich-Volynia
 (1211–61), 231, 232
 Danzig (Gdańsk), 196
 see also Swietopolk, duke of Danzig
 Daugava, *see* Düna
 Demmin, 35
 Denmark, Danes, 243, 245
 and crusades to the Holy Land, 45,
 87, 104, 230
 and Estonia, 26, 54 n. 111, 81–2,
 133–5, 157, 188–9, 201–2, 235–9,
 242–3
 and Livonia, 101, 133–4, 227
 and the papacy, 44–5, 47, 60, 85–6,
 89, 107, 122–3, 180, 250
 and Prussia, 82, 199–200, 227
 and the Russians, 190–1, 217–22
 and the Second Crusade, 25, 35, 46
 and Slavs, 23, 25, 30, 43–8
 Danish Church, 43–4, 52–3, 89, 243
 distance to Rome, 17
 see also Anders (Sunesen); crusade(s),
 in Estonia; Erik IV; Eskil; Estonia;
 Finland; Teutonic Order;
 Valdemar I, II, IV
 Diego, bishop of Osma (d. 1207),
 156–60
 Dobin, 35
 Dominic Guzmán (d. 1221), 153
 and heretics, 153–4, 155
 and mission among pagans, 156–61
 and the curia, 167, 174, 211
 see also Gregory IX; Honorius III;
 William, bishop of Modena
 Dominic (of Segovia), bishop of
 Morocco, 168–9
 Dominicans
 and mission, 166, 196 n. 42, 212
 as crusade preachers, 195, 196–9,
 226, 253
 at Bologna, 155
 at Breslau, 196 n. 42
 at Danzig, 196
 at Kiev, 223
 at Kulm, 196 n. 42

- in Germany, 226, 241
 in Hungary, 159 n. 109, 166
 in Poland, 223, 226
 in Morocco, 168–70
see also Gregory IX; Honorius III;
 Innocent IV; Teutonic Order;
 William, bishop of Modena
- Dorpat (Tartu), 217
 bishop of, 220
 bishopric of, 220
- Dorylaeum, 35
- Düna (Daugava, Väina, Dvina), river,
 26, 65
- Dünamünde (Daugavgriva), 115
- Dvina, *see* Düna
- Edessa, 27, 35
- Elbe, river, 23–6, 51, 52, 76, 90
- Empire, Holy Roman,
 and the Baltic crusades, 203–5
 and papacy, 2 n. 3, 44, 64, 107,
 202–6, 229–30
see also individual emperors
- Erik IV, king of Denmark (1241–50),
 235–9
- Eskil, archbishop of Lund (1137–77),
 44
 and the Cistercians, 53
 and mission in Estonia, 26, 53–4
 and the papacy, 52–3, 54–6, 58–9
- Estonia, Estonians
 bishop of, 124, 181
 Danish invasion of (1219), 86, 133–4
 Danish sale of (1346), 243
 Danish vassals in Estonia, 217, 236,
 242 n. 235
 disputed northern provinces, 135,
 187–8
 ecclesiastical organization of, 123–4,
 124–6, 181
see also crusade(s), in Estonia;
 mission, in Estonia; Fulco; Russia,
 alliances with Estonians; William,
 bishop of Modena; *and individual*
 bishops
- Eudes of Châteauroux, cardinal, papal
 legate (d. 1273), 229–30
- Eugenius III, pope (1145–53), 3, 6–7,
 40
 and mission and conversion, 32, 37,
 39, 42–3, 75
 and the Second crusade, 27, 31–4,
 36, 76–7, 148, 250, 251
see also Bernard of Clairvaux
- Fellin (Viljandi), 82 n. 14, 217
- Fernando III, king of Castile
 (1217–52), 238–9
- Finland, Finns, 245
 and the Danish Church and king,
 82–3, 126
 bishop of, 82, 165, 223
see also crusade(s), in Finland;
 Karelia; mission, in Finland;
 Russia; Sweden; Tavastia
- Francis of Assisi (d. 1226),
 and mission among Muslims, 167
 n. 138
 and the curia, 167, 173
see also Gregory IX; Honorius III;
 Innocent III
- Franciscans, 166
 and mission, 212, 214, 239–40
 as crusade preachers, 197–8, 228, 241
 in Morocco, 164, 168 n. 141, 169–70
see also Gregory IX; Honorius III;
 Innocent IV
- Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia, see*
 Sword-Brothers
- Frederick I (Barbarossa), emperor
 (1152–90), 50
see also Empire, Holy Roman
- Frederick II, emperor (1212–50), 147,
 151, 189, 197, 202–5, 210
see also Empire, Holy Roman; Hermann
 of Salza; Teutonic Order
- Frisia, 38
- Fulco, bishop of Estonia, 26, 53–4, 55,
 56, 58–9
- Galich-Volynia, 216
see also Daniel, prince of Galich-Volynia
- Gdańsk, *see* Danzig
- Gerhard I, archbishop of Hamburg-
 Bremen, (1210–19), 85 n. 23, 181
see also Hamburg-Bremen
- Gerhard II, archbishop of Hamburg-
 Bremen (1219–58), 182, 231
see also Hamburg-Bremen
- Germany, Germans
 and the Second Crusade, 29, 31
 crusading in the Baltic region, 69,
 80, 133
 crusading in the East, 35, 146
 merchants, 26
 princes and aristocracy of, 25, 31,
 43, 48
 settlers in the Baltic region, 80, 135
see also Empire, Holy Roman, *and*
 individual church provinces and regions

- Gerold, bishop of Oldenburg (1155–63), 50–1
- Gnesen (Gniezno)
 archbishop of, 81, 136, 139 n. 22, 151, 152, 234 n. 197
 archbishopric of, 24, 90, 137, 142, 160
see also Henry (Kietlicz)
- Gniezno, *see* Gnesen
- Godfrey, bishop of Langres (1138–63), 34
- Gotland, 172, 192, 195, 199, 206, 208, 227, 231
- Gratian, canonist (c. 1140), 10
- Gregorius, papal legate to Denmark 1222–3, 134 n. 5
- Gregory I, pope (590–604), 10, 38, 42, 117–18
- Gregory II, pope (715–31), 38
- Gregory VII, pope (1073–85), 10
- Gregory VIII, pope (1187), 58, 61, 119
- Gregory IX, pope (1227–41), 3–4, 158–9, 178–9, 248
 and Dominic, 161, 197, 211
 and the Dominicans, 197–9, 210–15, 253
 and Emperor Frederick II, *see*
 Empire, Holy Roman
 and Francis, 167, 211–12
 and the Franciscans, 166–7, 197–8, 210–15, 253
 and Honorius III, *see* Honorius III
 and Innocent IV, 3–4, 226, 248
 and mission and conversion, 210–15, 253
 and the Teutonic Order, *see*
 Teutonic Order
- Gregory X, pope (1271–6), 244
- Guido, cardinal of San Chrysogono (1138–c. 58), papal legate, 34
- Håkon IV, king of Norway (1217–63), 210 n. 97
- Hamburg-Bremen, 24
 archbishop of, 25, 26, 35, 73, 85, 125–6, 198–9, 202, 250
 archbishopric of, 13–14, 24, 65, 66, 74, 85, 95 n. 64, 101, 102, 123 n. 156, 148, 199, 206, 227
see also Adalbert; Gerhard I;
 Gerhard II; Hartwig I; Hartwig II
- Häme, *see* Tavastia
- Harria (Harjumaa, Harrien), 134 n. 6, 189 n. 8
- Hartwig I, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen (1148–68), 50
- Hartwig II, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen (1185–1207), 65–6, 68, 69 n. 162, 80, 85 n. 23
- Havelberg
 bishopric of, 206
see also Anselm, bishop of Havelberg
- Helmold of Bosau, chronicler (d. after 1177), 13, 24 n. 7, 51
- Henry (Kietlicz), archbishop of Gnesen (1199–1219), 90, 126–7
see also Gnesen
- Henry, archbishop of Rheims (1162–75), 58–9, 64
- Henry, bishop of Olmütz (1126–50), 32 n. 34, 34
- Henry, bishop of Ösel-Wiek (1234–60), 220–1, 235
- Henry, bishop of Uppsala (d. 1156), 25
- Henry, papal nuncio to the Baltic region 1245, 230, 233–4
- Henry VI, emperor (1190–7), 70
- Henry (the Lion), duke of Saxony (1142–95), 25, 35, 43–4, 50, 51, 74
- Henry II, duke of Lower Silesia (d. 1241), 232
- Henry (Raspe), landgrave of Thuringia (d. 1247), 229
- Henry, count of Schwerin (1200–28), 135
- Henry, prince of the Abodrites (d. 1127), 24 n. 4
- Henry of Lausanne, preacher (d. after 1145), 41
- Henry of Livonia, chronicler (d. after 1259), 14–15, 68–9, 70, 71–4, 83–4, 99–100, 130–1, 133, 179
- heretics
 Cistercians preaching against, 41–2, 120
 papal policy on, 10, 109–10, 119–21, 155
see also crusade(s); mission
- Hermann of Salza, grand master of the Teutonic Order (c. 1209–39), 196–7, 202, 251
 and Emperor Frederick II, 189, 205
- Holstein, Holsatians, 50, 171–2, 199, 231
- Honorius III, pope (1216–27), 3, 17, 88
 and Celestine III, 151
 and the Cistercians, 162–4, 184

- and Clement III, 151
 and Dominic, 154–5, 162, 184, 211, 252
 and the Dominicans, 153–6, 168–70, 184–5, 212, 253
 and Francis, 162, 184, 211
 and the Franciscans, 154, 166–7, 169, 170, 184–5, 212, 253
 and Gregory IX (Ugolino), 166, 211, 248, 252
 and Innocent III, 150–1
 and mission and conversion, 162–70, 177, 183–5, 252–3
 Hungary, Hungarians, 101 n. 82, 163, 166, 189, 224
see also Andrew II
- Iberian Peninsula, 24 n. 4, 85 n. 22, 115 n. 131, 163
see also crusade(s), on the Iberian Peninsula; crusade(s), Second; indulgences, to participants in the Iberian crusades *and individual rulers*
- Ikšķīle, *see* Ūxkūll
- ʿImad ad-Din Zengi, atabeg of Mosul and of Aleppo (d. 1146), 27
- imitation of Christ, 40, 197
- indulgence, 7, 254
 development of, 6–7
 for attendance of crusade sermons, 198, 199, 227, 247
 for sponsoring crusaders, 97, 139, 143, 185, 195, 226, 242, 244, 251
 for supporting crusades financially, 95, 97, 98, 129, 139, 143, 149, 185, 194–5, 207, 226, 244, 251
 Innocent III's formulation of, 7, 96–7
 to missionaries, 214
 to participants in the Albigensian crusades, 97, 108
 to participants in the Baltic crusades, 33, 60, 62, 72–3, 94–8, 138–42, 194–5, 207, 209, 210, 226, 228, 232–3, 236, 242, 244, 245, 250–1
 to participants in the crusade against Markward of Anweiler, 97
 to participants in the crusades against the Mongols, 233 n. 193
 to participants in the crusade against the Stedinger, 198
 to participants in the crusades in the East, 7, 33, 62, 96–7
 to participants in the Iberian crusades, 63, 77, 97, 98, 111–12, 113, 210
- Ingeborg, queen of France (d. 1237/38), 88
- Ingria, *see* Izhoria
- Innocent III, pope (1198–1216), 3, 7, 87
 and Celestine III, 88, 92
 and the Cistercians, 113–14, 120
 and Francis, 166
 and Gregory I, 117–18
 and Honorius III, *see* Honorius III
 and mission and conversion, 92–4, 113–17, 119, 122, 130, 213–14, 253
 and reform of the Church, 121–2, 154
- Innocent IV, pope (1243–54), 3–4, 226
 and the Dominicans, 239–40, 253
 and the Franciscans, 239–40, 253
 and Gregory IX, *see* Gregory IX
 and mission and conversion, 239–40, 253
 and the Teutonic Order, *see* Teutonic Order
- Ivo of Chartres, canonist (d. 1115/16), 10
- Izborsk, 191, 217, 220
- Izhoria (Ingria, Izhora), Izhorians, 243, 245
- James Pantaléon, *see* Urban IV
- James of Vitry, bishop of Acre (d. 1240), 101 n. 82, 167
- Jerusalem, 4, 27, 30, 62, 79, 119, 228
 kingdom of, 65, 79, 196, 205
- Jerwia (Järvamaa, Jerwien), 134 n. 6, 189 n. 8, 205
- John of Wildeshausen, master general of the Dominican Order (1241–52), 197
- Jordan of Saxony, master general of the Dominican Order (1222–37), 156–8, 164 n. 121
- just war, 9–10
- al-Kamil, sultan of Egypt (d. 1238), 167 n. 138, 210, 212–13
- Karelia, Karelians, 190, 216, 219, 243, 244, 245
- Kilij Arslan II, sultan of Rum (1155–92), 57
- Knud II (the Holy), king of Denmark (1080–6), 45
- Knud Lavard, Danish duke (d. 1131), 44 n. 77, 45
- Knut Eriksson, king of Sweden (1167–95/96), 55 n. 118

- Knytlinga Saga, 46 n. 85
 Kopor'e, 218
 Kulm (Chełmno), 196 n. 42
 Kulmerland, 189, 200
 Kurisches Haff, 191
 Kurland (Curonia), Kurs, 71 n. 169,
 171, 175, 188 n. 3, 191, 206, 208,
 227 n. 165, 240

 Läänemaa, *see* Wiek
 Las Navas de Tolosa, battle of, 79
 Leah, *see* Rachel
 Leal (Lihula)
 bishop of, 135
 Lekno, *see* Cistercians, at Lekno
 Lihula, *see* Leal
 Lisbon, 35–6
 Lithuania, Lithuanians, 72, 188, 191,
 225, 241
 Livonia, Livonians, 26, 133–4
 ecclesiastical organization of, 123–6,
 179–81, 233
 see also crusade(s), in Livonia;
 mission, in Livonia; Riga; Virgin
 Mary, Livonia as the dowry of;
 William, bishop of Modena; *and*
 individual bishops
 Lothar III, duke of Supplinburg
 (1106–37), 23
 Lothar of Segni, *see* Innocent III
 Louis VII, king of France (1137–80),
 27, 28, 31 n. 28, 34, 35
 Louis IX, king of France (1226–70),
 228, 229–30
 Lübeck
 as port of transit, 17, 70–1, 143–4
 bishop of, 198–9
 bishopric of, 51 n. 97, 66 n. 150
 distance to Rome, 17
 Lund
 archbishop of, 237
 archbishopric of, 148, 237
 see also Anders (Sunesen); Denmark;
 Eskil
 Magdeburg
 archbishop of, 29, 142, 179, 202
 archbishopric of, 24, 39, 148,
 179–80, 199, 206, 227
 see also Norbert of Xanten; Wichmann
 Magnus Eriksson, king of Sweden
 (1319–63), 245
 Marienburg (Malbork), 242
 Martha, *see* Mary

 Mary
 and Martha, 41
 see also Virgin Mary
 Masovia (Mazovien)
 bishop of, 192–3
 see also Conrad, duke of Masovia
 Mecklenburg, 25, 51
 see also Berno
 Meinhard, bishop of Livonia (d. 1196),
 26, 65–8, 71, 72, 73–4, 75, 92, 183
Milites Christi de Prussia, 115 n. 131
 Minden
 bishop of, 198–9
 bishopric of, 206
 Minorca, 35
 Mission
 among Christians, 119–22, 210
 among heretics, 120, 153–4, 155,
 184, 212, 213
 among Mongols, 240
 among Muslims, 11, 164, 167,
 168–70, 184, 211, 212–13, 240,
 252, 253
 among Orthodox Greeks, 210–11
 among Russians, 210–11, 223
 among Slavs, 48–51, 66, 76
 in Estonia, 26, 53–5, 81–2, 86, 133,
 163 n. 119
 in Finland, 25–6, 54, 56–7, 82–3,
 136 n. 12, 216, 223
 in Frisia, 38
 in Livonia, 26, 65–7, 73–4, 86, 113,
 115, 133, 146, 163 n. 119, 187–8,
 216
 in Prussia, 81, 82, 83, 116–17, 119,
 126, 135, 146, 149
 papal policy on, 37–9, 75 *see also*
 individual popes
 to the English, 38
 see also conversion
 ‘Missionskreuzzüge’, 11
 see also crusade(s), to the Baltic
 Mongols, 224, 231
 see also crusade(s), against the
 Mongols; mission, among Mongols
 Morocco, 75, 164, 168–70
 Muslims, 24 n. 7
 see also crusade(s); mission, among
 Muslims

 Neva, river, 217, 219, 220–1, 245
 battle of, 217
 Nicaea, 35
 Nicholas I, pope (858–67), 38, 118

- Nicholas, bishop of Riga (d. 1253), 187–8, 231, 233
 complaints against, 188, 228
- Nicholas, abbot (d. 1159), 17 n. 12
- Nicholas, Estonian monk in Norway, 55
- Nicholas Breakspear, *see* Adrian IV
- Norbert of Xanten, archbishop of Magdeburg (d. 1134), 49–50
- Norway, Norwegians, 54, 55, 227, 242
see also Håkon, king of Norway
- Nöteborg (Orekhov), treaty of, 245
- Novgorod, 190, 191, 216–18, 220–2, 243, 245
see also Russia; Sweden
- Odenpäh (Otepää), 217
 bishop of, 135
- Oder, river, 23, 25, 26
- Oldenburg
 bishopric of, 50, 51 n. 97
see also Gerold; Vicelin
- Öland, 171–2
- Ösel (Saaremaa), Osilians, 134 n. 6, 176, 209 n. 95
 Danish expedition to, 81–2, 85, 89
- Ösel-Wiek (Saare-Lääne), 235
see also Henry, bishop of Ösel-Wiek
- Otto, bishop of Bamberg (d. 1139), 49 n. 91
- Otto, cardinal, papal legate to Germany, 187 n. 1
- Otto I, king of Germany (936–73), 23
- Otto IV, emperor (1198–1214), 103 n. 88, 105, 203
- Paderborn
 bishopric of, 206
- Papacy
 and chancery, 15–18, 88, 107, 151, 173–4, 207
 and college of cardinals, 2–3, 17–18, 67
 and Holy Roman Empire, *see* Empire, Holy Roman
 and mission, *see* mission and individual popes
 and proctors, proctor marks, 16, 199 n. 55, 232, 253
 and secular rulers, 39, 48, 76, 136, 239, 249–50, *see also* papal monarchy
 schism, 3, 44, 58
see also individual popes
- papal monarchy, 2, 11–12
- Paris, 53, 87
 schools of, 86–7, 87–8, 121, 155
see also Peter the Chanter
- Paschal III, anti-pope (1164–8), 91
- pastoral care, 86–7, 121–2
see also converts, pastoral care among
- Peipus (Peipsi, Chud), lake, 217, 218
 battle of, 191, 218
- penitential warfare, 4, 5, 65, 77–8, 129, 250, 254–5
see also crusade(s)
- Peter of Castelnau, papal legate (d. 1208), 104, 108
- Peter of Celle, abbot of St-Rémi (d. 1183), 53–6, 58–9
- Peter the Chanter, theologian (d. 1197), 87, 88 n. 39, 101 n. 82, 122
- Peter of Dusburg, chronicler (c. 1326), 195–6
- Philip II Augustus, king of France (1180–1223), 87, 88, 108–9
- Philip of Swabia, king of Germany (1198–1208), 68–9, 130
- pilgrimage
 and crusades, 4, 5
 Livonia as a centre for, 84
- Poland, Poles, 23, 25, 163, 224, 230, 241
 and the mission and crusades in Prussia, 81, 119, 135, 136, 139 n. 22, 146, 148, 177, 191, 199, 227, 234 n. 197
 and the Second Crusade, 35
see also Cistercian Order; Gnesen; Henry (Kietlicz), archbishop of Gnesen
- Pomerania, Pomeranians, *see* Swietopolk, duke of Danzig
- Pomerania, Pomeranians, 23, 25, 44, 82 n. 15
 and the mission and crusades in Prussia, 81, 119, 135, 136, 148, 177, 199, 227
- preaching, *see* crusade(s)
- Premonstratensians, 49
 as crusade preachers, 241
 at Belbuk, 52 n. 101
 at Grobe, 52 n. 101
 at Tønsberg, 45
 in Magdeburg, 49
see also Norbert of Xanten
- Prester John, 57 n. 125
- Prussia, Prussians, 85 n. 22
 archbishop of, 231, 233

- bishoprics in, 124 n. 163, 181, 232
 rebellions in, 135, 177, 191, 225, 241
see also Christian, bishop of Prussia; crusade(s), in Prussia; mission, in Prussia; Teutonic Order; William, bishop of Modena
- Pskov, 191, 216, 217, 218, 220
see also Novgorod
- Rachel, 67
 and Leah, 41, 163–4
- Radulf, Cistercian preacher, 28
- Ratzeburg
 bishop of, 198–9
 bishopric of, 66 n. 150
- Raymond Berengar IV, count of Barcelona (1131–62), 35, 63
- Raymond of Penyafort, master general of the Dominican Order (d. 1275), 197, 211
- relics, of the True Cross, 195–6
- Reval (Tallinn)
 bishop of, 181
 bishopric of, 231 n. 185
 fortress, 134, 189 n. 8, 201
- Revalia (Rävala, Revele), 134 n. 6, 189 n. 8
- Rheims, 59
see also Henry, archbishop of Rheims; Peter of Celle, abbot of St-Rémi
- Riga (Rīga), 80, 135
 archbishopric of, 233
 bishopric of, 124–6, 127
 cathedral at, 84
 chapter of, 231
 citizens of, 80, 176, 187–8, 223
see also Albert (Suerbeer); Albert (of Buxhövdén); Livonia; Nicholas
- Robert of Courçon, cardinal (d. 1219), 101 n. 82
- Robert of Molesme, abbot (d. 1110), 40
- Robert II, count of Flanders (d. 1111), 30, 45
- Rodrigo, archbishop of Toledo (1209–47), 169–70, 238, 239 n. 221
- Rügen, Rugians, 43–4, 47, 51, 172, 231
- Russia, Russians, 134 n. 6, 215–24, 231, 232, 245
 alliances with Estonians, 133, 216 n. 122
see also mission, among Russians; Novgorod; Sweden
- Saaremaa, *see* Ösel
- Saccala (Sakkala), 123–4, 134 n. 6
- Saladin, sultan of Egypt and Syria (d. 1193), 65, 119
- Saladin tithes, 238
- Sambia, 171, 175, 203
- Samland, *see* Sambia
- Samogitia (Žemaitija), Samogitians, 191–2
- Santarem, 35
- Santiago, Order of, 58, 61
- Saracens, *see* Muslims
- Saule
 battle of, 188
- Saxo Grammaticus, chronicler (d. c. 1220), 13, 46, 47, 99
- Saxony, Saxons, 14, 23, 24 n. 4, 29, 30, 72, 90, 102, 142
see also Henry (the Lion), duke of Saxony
- Schleswig, 17 n. 12
- Schwerin
 bishop of, 51
 bishopric of, 66 n. 150
see also Henry, count of Schwerin
- Segeberg, 14, 26, 50, 52, 66, 84 n. 21
- Semgallia, Semgallians, 72, 171, 175, 188, 203, 206, 208
- Sinibaldo Fieschi, *see* Innocent IV
- Slavs, 23, 43–4, 47
see also conversion, of Slavs, crusade(s), Second; mission, among Slavs
- Sorbs, *see* Slavs
- Spain, *see* Iberian Peninsula
- Stedinger, *see* crusade(s)
- Stensby, 189 n. 8
 treaty of, 188–9, 219, 220 n. 135, 225 n. 157, 235
- Stephen, archbishop of Uppsala (1164–85), 54
- Stettin (Szczecin), 35
- Svend, prince of Denmark (d. 1097), 45
- Sweden, Swedes
 and crusades to the Holy Land, 104
 and the curia, 55, 123, 136 n. 12, 253
 and Danish vassals in Estonia, 242 n. 245
 and Prussia and Livonia, 227
 Russian-Swedish rivalry, 190, 216–17, 219, 243, 245
 Swedish Church, 54, 58, 60

- see also* crusade(s), in Finland;
 Finland; Knut Eriksson; mission,
 in Finland; Uppsala
 Swietopolk, duke of Danzig (d. 1266),
 191, 196, 233–5
 Sword-Brothers, Order of, 80, 81 n. 8,
 115–16, 138
 and central and southern Estonia,
 123–4, 134
 and Finland, 223
 and the northern Estonian
 provinces, 135, 187–8, 204–5
 union with Teutonic Order, 188
see also Albert (of Buxhövdén),
 bishop of Livonia
 Szczecin, *see* Stettin
- Tallinn, *see* Reval
 Tartu, *see* Dorpat
 Tavastia (Häme, Yam), Tavastians,
 190, 209–10, 216–17
 Templars, Order, 100
 rule of, 81 n. 8, 115 n. 131
tempus acceptabile, 28, 152–3
 Teutonic Order
 and Albert (Suerbeer), 233
 and the Danish kings, 188–9, 190–1,
 219, 235, 243
 and the Dominicans, 196–7, 198, 199
 and Emperor Frederick II, 189, 195,
 205, 235
 and Gregory IX, 192–4, 200–2,
 206, 215, 246, 253
 and Innocent IV, 224, 225, 232–5,
 245–6, 248, 253
 and the Lithuanians, 191–2, 241
 and the Russians, 190–1, 217–22
 in Burzenland, 159, 189, 202
 in the kingdom of Jerusalem, 205
 in Livonia, 190, 191, 225
 in Prussia, 189–90, 191, 192, 225
see also crusade(s), in Prussia; Hermann
 of Salza; Sword-Brothers; William,
 bishop of Modena
 Theodorich, bishop of Estonia (d. 1219),
 181
 Theodwin, cardinal of Porto (1134–51),
 papal legate, 34
 Toledo
 archbishop of, 75
 archbishopric of, 170
see also Rodrigo, archbishop of Toledo
 Tortosa, 34, 35, 36
- Ugolino, cardinal, *see* Gregory IX
 Ungannia (Ugandi, Ugaunien), 123–4,
 134 n. 6
 Uppsala
 archbishop of, 101 n. 82, 126, 194
 n. 29, 209, 231, 244, 245
 archbishopric of, 54, 123
see also Henry, bishop of Uppsala;
 Stephen, archbishop of Uppsala
 Urban II, pope (1088–99), 4, 7 n. 17,
 33, 254
 Urban IV, pope (1261–4), 234–5, 241
 n. 230
 Üxküll (Ikšķile), 26, 65, 80, 84, 125
- Väina, *see* Düna
 Valdemar Knudsen, bishop of
 Schleswig (d. 1236), 85 n. 23
 Valdemar I, king of Denmark
 (1157–82), 25, 43–8, 51, 54, 55
 Valdemar II, king of Denmark
 (1202–41), 81–2, 85, 98, 102, 103,
 133–4, 135, 163 n. 119, 180, 204
 n. 76
 Valdemar IV, king of Denmark
 (1340–75), 243
 Vatland, *see* Votia
 Vicelin, bishop of Oldenburg
 (1149–54), 49–50, 52, 66, 183
 Victor IV, anti-pope (1159–64), 44
 Viljandi, *see* Fellin
 Virgin Mary, 85 n. 22
 Livonia as the dowry of, 84–5
 Vironia (Virumaa, Wierland), 134
 n. 6, 171, 175, 189 n. 8
 Visby, 222
 Viterbo, conference at, 188, 201, 206,
 208
 Votia (Vatland), Votians, 218, 220–1, 243
 vows
 crusade vows, 4–5, 99–100
 commutation of crusade vows, 69–70,
 74, 77, 95, 137, 139, 141 n. 27,
 142, 145–6, 195, 206, 209, 210 n.
 97, 224–5, 242, 247, 253, 255
 commutation of vows of pilgrimage,
 94
 redemption of crusade vows, 197,
 200, 227, 233, 241, 246
- Wends, *see* Slavs
 Wendish Crusade, *see* crusade(s), Second
 Westphalia, 90, 102

- Wichmann, archbishop of Magdeburg
 (1152/54–92), 25, 44 n. 78
 Wiek (Läänemaa), 134 n. 6, 235
see also Ösel-Wiek
 Wierland, *see* Vironia
 William, bishop of Modena, cardinal
 of Sabina, papal legate (d. 1251),
 173, 230
 and Bishop Albert of Livonia, 171,
 175, 176
 and the Dominicans, 174–5, 176
 and the Teutonic Order, 189, 196,
 200, 201–2
 legation to Livonia and Estonia (1225–6),
 14, 134–5, 171–2, 175–6, 178, 179,
 182, 204, 222
 legation to Prussia (1228–30), 175,
 215
 legation to the wider Baltic region
 (1234–42), 175, 176, 179, 188,
 206, 208, 219, 221, 246, 253
 William of Ebelholt, abbot (d. 1203), 88
 William of Montferrat, Dominican
 missionary, 161, 213
 Willibrord, missionary (d. 739), 38
 Wilzes, *see* Slavs
 Yam, *see* Tavastia